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REPORTS ON CONTINUATION OF 'FRIENDSHIP-82'

LD161826 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] The tactical operational maneuvers of units of the Soviet army, the National People's Army of the GDR and the Polish People's Army -- codenamed "Friendship-82" which are being held in northwest Poland continued today.

The exercises are perfecting the organizational and planning efficiency of the leadership and staff of the troops engaged in the maneuvers. All of the tasks are being worked out jointly by the officers participating in the army exercises. The exercises demonstrate a high level of specialized capabilities. Intensive preparations are underway in all the subunits to carry out the basic tasks planned for the maneuvers. Soldiers are holding meetings -- with schoolchildren, among others -- between maneuvers.

The first issue of the field gazette appeared today under the title "Friendship-82"

Activities in Pomerania

LD162306 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Report by Maj Marek Matysek on the activities of the "Friendship-82" exercises at the Pomeranian Military District -- recorded, date not specified]

[Text] This is another day of activities in this year's "Friendship-82" exercises. Two artillery units have prepared an attack. Lt Col Bazyll (Chomysiec) is at our microphone.

[Chomysiec] The opponent has organized a strong defense.

[Matysek] You mean those hills where the artillery shells are now exploding, don't you?

[Chomysiec] Yes [words indistinct] hills on which the opponent has consolidated his defensive positions. Taking advantage of the cover provided by the artillery fire and air force strikes from the GDR National People's Army. The Polish and Soviet army units are approaching the battle lines in marching columns.

[Matysek] I now have a question to ask Air Force Col Janusz (Wojtowicz). The air force is taking part in today's exercises, isn't it? I am thinking helicopters.

[Wojtowicz] There are MI-2 helicopters here. They are adapted to participate in assault actions in the direct line of battle, and are carrying out their assigned tasks. We perhaps have an opportunity now to observe their assault on their opponent.

[Matysek] All of this is part of the artillery preparations for attack.

[Wojtowicz] Yes, all of this is part of the artillery preparations for attack before the troops come to their starting positions and actually start the attack. We expect counter activities from the opponent's air force. Perhaps this will occur and we will be able to observe the opponent's activities and tactics.

[Matysek] There is another helicopter attack.

[Wojtowicz] After this attack, after exhausting their fighting resources, they return to their base.

[Matysek] These explosions are getting closer and closer; tanks are also beginning to move on the left.

[Wojtowicz] We are observing the approach of armored vehicles which will be joining the battle.

[Matysek] The helicopters are very low, very low. They are veering off to the left as if someone is pulling them on a string. Then they regroup in a circle. The artillery is continuing to destroy the opponent's firing weapons.

[Wojtowicz] Long-range artillery shelling of the second line defense positions has started.

[Matysek] The testing ground is windy today. The explosions are rising up in the air. Our microphone is blowing about, but I think you can hear the sounds of the battlefield.

[Wojtowicz] Platoon columns are getting close to the battle lines. They have heavy tanks in front of them with sweeping gear which will broaden the paths the sappers made through the opponent's obstacles. These routes are marked and the tank drivers know where the markers are. They go to the left and then to the right.

[Matysek] This is quite a distance to go. Soldiers from three armies -- from the GDR National People's Army, from the Soviet army's northern troops and from our Polish People's Army -- are cooperating with one another. There is a novelty to some extent in these exercises. Some of our subunits, platoons, have been included in both German and Soviet army units and their units have been included in ours.

We again have tanks next to us. More helicopters and more platoons are entering battle. A unit from the 12th Mechanized Division is entering battle with the Soviet army.

GDR Radio Report

LD172040 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Excerpts] The "Friendship-82" tactical exercises in the northwestern part of Poland, in which troop units of the Soviet army, the GDR National People's Army and the Polish People's Army are taking part, are continuing. Our Warsaw correspondent, Klaus Franke, reports:

[Begin recording] In the combined exercises of the land and air forces of the three allied armies in the maneuver area in the northwestern region of Poland, the action stage of their joint work to fulfill the training and combat tasks has started. The combined staff, comprising officers from the Soviet army, the GDR National People's Army and the Polish People's Army, started its exercise scenario from the position that the assumed enemy had begun unexpected engagements at dawn with an enormous air strike, withdrew, engaged in defensive battles and undertook redeployments of their forces with the aim of driving the enemy back and destroying him. Artillery, fighter aircraft, tank units and motorized infantry, supported by combat helicopters, took part.

The enemy attack was successfully blocked by troops units of the National People's Army, behind whose protective barrier units of the Soviet army and of the Polish People's Army prepared a counterattack. As observers noted, all actions were carried out with the greatest precision, the participants showed great leadership ability and a good level of training.

In a discussion held in the quarters of the Soviet units, the young soldiers of the three armies spoke about the deterioration of the international siutation brought about by the imperialist arms drive. This development highlights even more the significance of the Warsaw Treaty in preserving peace in Europe and the efforts in securing the defense capability. With a view to the situation in the People's Republic of Poland, the participants in the discussion were quick to assure that they were and are with their Polish brothers-in-arms and will always remain with them.

Soldiers Meet Pila Residents

LD171520 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] The exercises of units of the Soviet army, the GDR National People's Army and the Polish People's Army -- Friendship-82 -- continue. During breaks in the training, soldiers participating in the exercises take part in meetings with work forces of enterprises and inhabitants of towns and villages of Pila Voivodship. A meeting has taken place in Pila between the command staff of the maneuvers and the political and administrative authorities of the voivodship. The delegation of the training armies was headed by Lt Gen Jozef Uzycki, commander of the Pomeranian Military District. Soldiers and town residents participated in a patriotic ceremony at the war cemetery in Walec.

Officers Discuss Exercise

LD172118 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Interview with Maj Gen (Glezwik) by Maj Marek Matysek; (Glezwik) and Matysek not further identified; interview held "in the Pomeranian Military District." presumably on 17 March -- live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Question] Major, today is another day of activity in the Friendship-82 exercises, and so more sleepless nights.

[Answer] This is nothing new for a soldier. Fighting goes on during the day as well as at night. Frequently the work done at night is in preparation for a subsequent battle during the day. Today is exceptionally difficult, because we have assumed a defensive posture after an attack. We have fully dug in for our defense. We are defending a line captured yesterday, a line for which subsequent units will enter the battle.

[Queston] You said, Major, that you have dug in. (I know how much work this involves); it was necessary to dig in tanks, to dig in armored personnel carriers, vehicles and trucks, and you also had to dig trenches.

[Answer] Spring is approaching, but the ground is still frozen solid. Our soldiers were working with great devotion. This is evident. We have trenches where the equipment is ideally camouflaged, blending into the scenery and hardly visible to the enemy. This is our soldiers' way of contributing to the smooth running of the exercise, which has been the case so far.

[Question] You are acting jointly with the soldiers of the Northern Group of Forces of the Soviet army as well as the National People's Army of the GDR. They are your neighbors. Some of your units are attached to their forces and vice versa.

[Answer] Yes. Many times yesterday and today we jointly carried out tasks, for example clearing obstructions in water, using captured bridges, constructing new bridges and providing fire support through encirclement and support strikes. We have understood one another really well.

[Question] The air force is also taking part in the exercise, but this time, it seems, in support of the neighbors.

[Answer] The air force will act when called in. Commanders at the appropriate level have the right to call in the air force to immobilize targets discovered in a given sector, targets which it is worthwhile for the air force to attack.

[Question] From what I understand, Major, you will be using helicopters.

[Answer] Yes. I am planning a helicopter strike against the enemy's first line of defense to prepare a line of entry into battle for the main forces.

ZHIVKOV RETURNS FROM VISIT TO KUWAIT 17 MAR

Talks End, Agreements Signed

AU171637 Sofia BTA in English 1455 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Report by BTA special correspondents in Kuwait Stefan Tikhchev and Vasil Vasilev]

[Text] Kuwait, 17 Mar (BTA) -- This morning the final talks were held between Mr Todor Zhivkov, Bulgaria's president of the State Council, and the amir of the state of Kuwait, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah.

The talks proceeded in a constructive and friendly atmosphere.

Before that five agreements were signed which extend the contractual and legal basis of the further development of Bulgaro-Kuwaiti cooperation: An agreement on economic, industrial and technical cooperation, an agreement on sea trade shipping, and an agreement on reciprocal recognition of diplomas and education certificates, an agreement on cooperation in tourism and a plan for application of the cultural agreement for 1982-1984.

The aim of the agreement on economic, industrial and technical cooperation is to encourage the Bulgarian organizations and Kuwaiti firms for business cooperation. The second agreement will facilitate the shipping between the two states, and the agreement on recognizing the diplomas will promote the cultural and scientific cooperation between the two countries, the exchange of specialists, as well as the training of Kuwaiti young people in Bulgarian educational establishments. The tourist agreement facilitates the individual and group travels of tourists and creates possibilities to acquaint Kuwait with the organization of the tourist system in Bulgaria.

After signing the documents the Minister of Trade and Industry Jasim Khalid al-Marzuq said that both last September's visit of the amir of Kuwait to Bulgaria and the present visit to Kuwait of Mr Todor Zhivkov, and the signing of the agreements, is an expression of the desire of the two parties to develop and deepen their cooperation. We wish, he stressed, to consolidate and extend Kuwait's relations with Bulgaria in the spheres of the economy, trade, culture, information, science, technology, tourism -- to the good of the two peoples and in the interest of consolidating the peace and friendship in the area.

On his part Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, emphasized the constructive spirit and friendly understanding in the preparations for the just signed documents and pointed out that they are one of the concrete results of the talks between H.H. the Amir of Kuwait and Mr Todor Zhivkov last year in Bulgaria and now in Kuwait.

As a result of the talks between the heads of state of the two countries, of the agreements signed and negotiations held on a governmental level and between Bulgarian organizations and Kuwaiti firms, concerning the preparations for three kinds of projects: the fulfillment of joint big projects in Kuwait, the fulfillment of big projects in Bulgaria and realizing joint projects in third countries -- we can draw the conclusion that the beginning is laid of a new phase in the development of Bulgaro-Kuwaiti relations in the economic sphere.

The essential feature of this stage is that there is a transition from the fulfillment of the separate contracts and deliveries to the implementation of overall cooperation programmes. The already created wide contractual and legal basis for the development of the economic cooperation contributes to this.

After the ending of the talks the president of the State Council of Bulgaria and the Amir of Kuwait Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah drove to the airport in the capital.

Before his departure the president of the State Council of Bulgaria Mr Todor Zhivkov made statements for the Kuwaiti press:

"I want to express my great satisfaction with the results of our visit," Mr Todor Zhivkov said.

"The meetings and talks we had with His Highness Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah and with other official figures, proceeded in a constructive and friendly atmosphere. They reaffirmed our conviction that our two countries relations which are being built on "the stable basis of mutual respect and reciprocal benefit have good and stable prospects.

"The documents just signed are an expression of our common wish to continue the development of the relations and cooperation between the Bulgarian and Kuwaiti people.

"We had discussions on some new aspects of the international relations and found that: At the present strained and complicated international situation it is especially necessary for all the possibilities for strengthening the peace and cooperation among the peoples to be used.

"On our part we expressed anew our steady support to the just cause of the Arab peoples."

Zhivkov Returns Home

AU171613 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] The official friendly visit to Kuwait of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has ended and he returned home. A joint communique on his visit there has been given over for publication.

Leaders Welcome Zhivkov

AU172002 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Excerpt] Comrade Todor Zhivkov and those accompanying him were cordially welcomed at Sofia Airport by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Georgi Yordanov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Vasil Tsanov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Kiril Zarev; Georgi and Yaroslav Radev, deputy chairmen of the State Council; Georgi Stoichkov and Stanishev Bonev, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers.

JOINT TALKS HELD WITH USSR PARLIAMENTARY GROUP

Todorov Meets Solomentsev

AU172054 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] Sofia, 17 Mar (BTA) -- Official talks began here today between parliamentary delegations of Bulgaria and the USSR.

The delegations are led by Mr Stanko Todorov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and National Assembly chairman, and Mr Mikhail Solomentsev, candidate member of the CC of the CPSU and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialsit Republic.

It is an unanimous conviction that the talks will contribute to the further expanding and deepening of the fraternal friendship and cooperation of Bulgaria and the USSR.

Stress was laid on the mutual desire for extending the ties (?between) the two countries' parliaments, for raising their role in safeguarding the peace and cooperation among peoples, for carrying through the course of all-round getting closer together of Bulgaria and the USSR.

Reporting on the successes, problems and tasks of the Bulgarian workers, Mr Stanko Todorov stated that the stability of the Bulgarian economy is due, to a decisive degree, to Bulgaria's participation in international socialist economic integration and her all-round cooperation with the USSR.

[Passage indistinct] the absolute identity of views and actions of the USSR and Bulgaria on the international arena.

Todorov Gives Dinner

AU172021 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, tonight gave an official dinner in honor of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Mikhayl Solomentsev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation.

Comrades Stanko Todorov and Mikhail Solomentsov proposed toasts expressing deep satisfaction with the firm Bulgarian-Soviet brotherhood based on the solid principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. They emphasized the contribution of the first party and state leaders of the two countries, Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Leonid Brezhnev, to the constant upsurge of Bulgarian-Soviet relations. The leaders of the two delegations also stated that during the talks a mutual desire was again expressed to expand and deepen the ties between the Bulgarian and Soviet parliaments and to enhance their role in the struggle for safeguarding peace and cooperation among the peoples.

Comrade Pencho Kubadinski and Todor Bozhinov as well as Nikita Tolubeyev, Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria, also attended the friendly dinner.

TANCHEV VISITS MEXICO, MEETS PRESIDENT PORTILLO

AU180946 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 18 Mar 82

[Text] Mexico, 18 Mar (BTA) -- Yesterday Mr Jose Lopez Portillo, president of the United States of Mexico, received Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and first vice-president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, head of the union's delegation.

Mr Petur Tanchev delivered Mr Todor Zhivkov's personal greetings to Mr Jose Lopez Portillo.

Mexico's head of state gave high assessment to the successes of the all-round development of modern Bulgaria and stressed that her experience in agriculture has given an impetus to the working out of a new programme for providing food for the Mexican village.

Mr Jose Lopez Portillo acclaimed Bulgaria's consistent constructive and peaceful foreign foreign policy and Mr Todor Zhivkov's personal contribution to the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

Mr Petur Tanchev gave positive assessment to the plan for reducing the tension in Central America and in the Caribbean Sea, for finding out a political settlement of the conflict in El Salvador, proposed by President Jose Lopez Portillo.

On behalf of the State Council of Bulgaria Mr Petur Tanchev handed over to President Jose Lopez Portillo's wife, Mrs Carmen Romano de Lopez Portillo, chairman of the honorary committee for the celebration in Mexico of the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, the "1300th Years of Bulgaria" jubilee medal for her contribution to the development of Bulgaro-Mexican cultural relations.

KAREL HOFFMANN LAUDS BREZHNEV PEACE PROPOSAL

LD171826 Prague CTK in English 1724 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 17 Mar (CTK correspondent) -- "We fully support the new peace proposals, made here by Leonid Brezhnev, as fresh and convincing proof of the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union," Karel Hoffmann, chairman of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions, said on Wednesday in his address to the 17th congress of Soviet trade unions.

"Our interest in your congress, in all your activities, stems from the many times tested knowledge that it is always possible to learn from Soviet trade unionists, and that fraternal relations with the Soviet working people are of decisive importance to us," he said.

In another part of his speech, Karel Hoffmann voiced solidarity with Polish workers and trade unionists who are waging a resolute struggle in defence of the socialist society.

"The experience of Czechoslovak just as Polish trade unions has confirmed in practice the prudence of Vladimir Ilich Lenin's conclusions that trade unions which are not linked with the working people and do not defend their interests lose their confidence, cannot fullfill their role, and cease to be an efficient support of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party."

Karel Hoffmann went on to welcome Leonid Brezhnev's words, which urgently reminded of Lenin's demand that trade unions must express as much as possible the feelings of the working people, as this gives the party and the state the possibility to express in their policy more fully the will and interests of the people. This corresponds with the vital interests of socialism and the working people of the whole world.

"Czechoslovak trade unionists also try to proceed from this, and we shall say so at our forthcoming 10th trade union congress," Karel Hoffmann added.

RUDE PRAVO COMMENTS ON BREZHNEV PEACE PROPOSAL

LD180950 Prague CTK in English 0818 GMT 18 Mar 82

[Text] Prague, 18 Mar (CTK) -- "The Soviet Union has made a grandiose peace gesture, offered its hand for talks, and opened wide the door to reducing nuclear weapons in Europe, RUDE PRAVO said in its editorial today.

Commenting on the peace proposals delivered by Leonid Brezhnev at the 17th congress of Soviet trade unions, the daily warned that "imperialism seeks to compel the world to follow the path of the arms race, war threats, [word indistinct] and confrontation [word indistinct] unavoidably lead to a catastrophe."

From all over the world voices are being heard appreciating the Soviet proposals and stating that the Soviet Union has created a real possibility of halting the spiral of tension and armament, the daily said adding that, on the other hand, the approach of U.S. foreign policymakers to grave questions concerning the fate of mankind is striking and arouses justified concern. President Reagan himself, now on a tour of some states of the union, did not even have time enough to study the Soviet proposals and already rejected them, the daily said.

"The struggle for peace has reached tremendous dimensions and there is no doubt that the Soviet proposals will further encourage it...They are the hope for the furure. A new effective weapon in the hands of peace fighters," RUDE PRAVO said stressing that they have also full support of the Czechoslovak people.

KLUSAK, VALEK CONFER WITH CPSU'S DEMICHEV

AU171545 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Mar 82 p 7

[Unsigned note in the column "24 Hours Abroad"]

[Text] The development of Soviet-Czechoslovak cultural contacts was discussed this Monday by Petr Demichev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR minister of culture; and Milan Klusak, CPCZ Central Committee member and minister of culture in the Czech Socialist Republic, and Miroslav Valek, Central Committee Presidium member of the Slovak Communist Party and minister of culture in the Slovak Socialist Republic, who are visiting the Soviet Union.

DAILY COMMENTS ON U.S. POLICY TOWARD LIBYA

AU171704 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 16 Mar 82 p 5

[E. Brezina commentary: "Confrontation Policy; What Does Reagan's Ban on Crude Oil Imports From Libya Mean?"]

[Text] While North American diplomacy continues its pressure on the NATO allies to make them follow Washington's discrimination policy toward Poland and the Soviet Union, and while it engages in protracted and persistent duels with them with the use of the magic formula called "NATO solidarity," the "crude oil boycott" is, as the daily Washington POST stated, a continuation of the U.S. "long-term program of battle" against Libya. The Reagan government's decision to stop imports of Libyan crude oil to the United States and, parallel to this, the exports of American technology and of equipment to Libya, signifies yet another step on the path of blackmailing the north African country which is one of the most active adversaries of American "interests" and of the Zionist American hangers-on in the Middle East.

Acting as it did toward the USSR and the Polish People's Republic -- when it resorted to the already established method of violating the binding norms of international commercial relations -- Washington is going even further with Libya. After last year's incidents following the shooting down of two Libyan airplanes near the Gulf of Sidra, the provocative maneuvers of the 6th Fleet near the Libyan shores, and another large military exercise, Bright Star, in the vicinity of Egypt's and Sudan's borders with Libya, and also after the current economic pressure, Secretary of State A. Haig is now threatening a "second phase of the battle." It is specified by another of his statements that "it is necessary to put an end to the Al-Qadhdhafi case." In this connection we know of the hysterical campaign unleashed by American communications media and also generously supported by the West European bourgeois press, in which the top Libyan representative, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, was accused -- without any proof -- of intending to organize the murder of top U.S. representatives.

Al-Qadhdhafi's anti-imperialist stands, his moral and material support of national liberation movements, including the PLO, are leading the imperialist U.S. circles toward extremely adventurous plans; this reminds us of both the past and the latest history of Washington's relations, for instance toward Cuba, and today also toward Nicaragua. Actually, this also explains the reverse of the same coin -- Washington's frank support of reactionary, obviously unpopular dictatorships, but also regimes paying tribute to American monopolies, the most outstanding example of which is El Salvador. Similar to the anti-Polish and anti-Soviet campaign in Western Europe, Washington is now also looking in Central America for a "collective" solution to its own imperialist problems. Here the common denominator is again the fight against "international terrorism" -- and not, as before, for "human rights," as in the case of socialist countries. It is unnecessary to add to this anything about outright cynical hypocrisy, because it is far too transparent a camouflage of the unconcealed endeavor to maintain and consolidate, by every means, the existing relations of exploitation on the one hand, and simultaneously to disrupt any social formation which strives to limit or liquidate them, on the other.

Thus it can be seen that the "crude oil embargo" on Libya is one of the components of the policy of confrontation. One of Washington's intentions was, and is, to create the worst possible image of Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and to isolate him even from the Arab world -- particularly from its conservative part, for instance in the OPEC community, where good services have been willingly accomplished by Saudi Arabia, to say nothing of Egypt and Sudan. Washington has tried to drag both its NATO allies and Japan into its anti-Libyan compaign, so far with considerable success. In this connection the top Libyan representative's visit to Austria was, in the political sense, a particularly interesting event, since it reminded Washington especially that its truly terrorist methods are not receiving the expected understanding in international relations but, on the contrary, are evolking increasing doubts even in its own class camp. In fact, they frequently touch the most basic national interests of the allies themselves -- both economic and political. The argument that what the Americans boycott, for instance in trade, the others, including their closest allies, will most willingly accept represents the reality; without it every policy is merely a pious wish. After all, this also applies to Austria, whose trade relations with Libya are advantageous; that is why Vienna lacks even the smallest reason to take Washington into consideration and even less its time-serving political motives, whose temporary nature is more than certain, since they have no perspective.

CTK COMMENTATOR VIEWS NICARAGUAN-U.S. RELATIONS

LD181004 Prague CTK in English 0856 GMT 18 Mar 82

[By Pavel Zavadil]

[Text] Prague, 18 Mar (CTK) -- The state of emergency declared in Nicaragua on Tuesday is a logical reply of the Sandinist government to the growing threat to the revolution which deposed Anastasio Somoza thirty months ago and became a thorn in the flesh especially to the United States.

The U.S. aggressive plans against Nicaragua have assumed dangerous forms especially in the recent days when the provocative manoeuvers Safe Pass started in the Caribbean and President Reagan approved, according to American press reports, the CIA plan for destabilization of the Nicaraguan Government.

The threat of the use of force against Nicaragua is part of the U.S. attempts to suppress the national liberation movement in Central America. The United States is alarmed at the dimensions of the movement in an area relatively close to its borders in which it has arrogated to itself the right to unlimited domination for 150 years. Therefore it is trying to discredit and isolate Cuba, and would apparently regard it as ideal a situation which [word indistinct] in the 1950's when "banana republics" obeyed every instruction from Washington and when United Fruit and other U.S. companies dominated the region.

The pretext used by the United States for its open attempt to destabilize the Central American republic is that Nicaragua, as an alleged "prolonged hand of Moscow and Havana", is reportedly supplying arms to partisans in El Salvador.

Nicaragua has become target of a fierce campaign in which propaganda is combined with direct actions of sabotage and preparations of more extensive attacks on Nicaragua. The unscrupulous attempts to intervene in the Nicaraguan affairs are being made by the Reagan administration at a time when it has launched a clamorous and infounded campaign against alleged "Soviet interference in Poland," in [words indistinct] blocked the meeting in Madrid, thereby disrupting the entire process of detente.

However, the attempts to provide evidence of Nicaragua's "interference" in El Salvador have been futile and often turned into outright blunders.

The Reagan administration needs the "evidence" to persuade the Congress about the need to fund the subversive anti-Nicaraguan activity and thus blunt the edge of the moods of the U.S. public which views the interference in Central American affairs with growing concern and starts to compare it with the beginning of the sad American adventure in Vietnam.

However, the non-existence of the evidence does not stop the Reagan administration from its gross economic pressure, hostile military and diplomatic actions and financing of sabotage against Nicaragua.

HUNGARIANS FLOAT PUBLIC UTILITY MUNICIPAL BONDS

WA181010 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Mar 82 p 6

[Article by CSSR correspondent in Hungary J.V. Svec: "Hungarian Public Participates in Financing Investments; A Remarkable Experiment"]

[Text] This year, the municipal and local committees in the Hungarian People's Republic (National Councils) have 35 billion Forints available for various public utilities and facilities (apartments, health clinics, kindergartens, nurseries, water mains, roads, etc.). Even though it is not a small sum, it would not be sufficient to meet all requirements for constant improvement of the living standards. Many facilities which are needed now would have to wait for years before they could be built.

In order for the local committees to start construction of such facilities as soon as possible, the Hungarian Finance Ministry made possible public participation in such needed investment offerings by means of bond purchases. This experiment is being given a preliminary trial in ten towns and communities. The Hungarian National Savings Bank is issuing for these localities the so-called municipal bonds in nominal values of one thousand and five thousand Forints.

The public can thus make a significant contribution toward formation of needed funds to speed up the construction of one or another facility. The bonds the public will purchase will be redeemed after a stipulated time period at a predetermined interest rate. The bonds will be retired after a fixed term established for each type of bond, usually 3 to 4 years, in some cases 5 years.

The bond purchase is actually a form of savings. When retiring the bonds, the bank will add the interest to the initial investment: 5 and 1/2 percent on 3 to 4 year bonds and 6 percent on 5 year bonds. The funds obtained from such offerings will then be credited to the local national committee of the project for which they were issued.

The first results of this form of financing are already known. In the new, so-called Garden Apartments in Tatabanya for example, they would not have been able to start construction of a nursery for 150 children before 1984. If the bond sale of 8 million Forints to be issued in a few months is successful, the nursery could be operational by 1984.

In the Labod community in Somogy County, a 500,000 Forint bond issue for construction of a nursery is already fully subscribed. Further, the inhabitants will contribute voluntary labor worth 700,000 Forints. The community of Nadas in County Vas has recently issued 7 million Forints worth of bonds for expansion of the local elementary school by four classrooms and a gymnasium. As of now, the public has purchased bonds worth more than 1 million Forints.

Through this experiment, the sale of the so-called municipal bonds, other towns and communities in Hungary will be able to obtain needed capital.

RUDE PRAVO ON USSR-WEST COOPERATION ON PIPELINES

AU171412 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Mar 82 p 6

[Moscow dispatch by Vladimir Divis: "Sharply Watched Gas; Where Is the Truth?"]

[Excerpts] "... And now, when the American embargo against the USSR and the Polish People's Republic has also been joined by the FRG and Japan, it will obviously be necessary to postpone the deadline for completing the gas pipeline from Western Siberia to Western Europe, planned for 1984..." a reader from Prachatice wrote to our editorial office. "Is it at all advantageous for the USSR to have Western firms participate in the construction of the gas pipeline? Because everybody is writing about the anti-import measures...?" J.V. from Prague 4 is asking. "The Soviet Union is building the largest number of pipelines in the world. But why is it also not orienting itself toward designing and producing top technology in this sphere, but has to import a number of machines from the West...? And, generally speaking, is it at all worth building so many gas pipelines into one and the same deposit?" F.Z. from Jihlava asks in a letter.

The reply to these questions includes, above all, the fact that at present the Soviet Union has at its disposal a dense network of large-diameter gas pipelines, totalling more than 150,000 km; this puts it in first place in the world. Self-evidently, the Soviet metallurgical industry must produce further dozens of millions of pipes with various diameters, to serve dozens of further crude oil pipelines, chemical plants, ameliorations and so forth.

West German firms will be participating in the first place in the construction of the Soviet sector of the 4,650-km gas pipeline from Western Siberia to Western Europe (from Urengoy to Uzhgorod) -- among them, for instance, the Mannesmann AG with a delivery of 550,000 tons of pipes. But the share of foreign pipe deliveries is, on the whole, small. Apart from that, although Bonn has partly joined certain "sanctions" adopted by Washington after the proclamation of the state of emergency in the Polish People's Republic on 13 December 1981, they do not concern the gas pipeline in any respect.

But what will happen if the FRG and some other foreign suppliers really and fully succumb to the Washington dictate and unilaterally break off the fulfillment of contracts on the deliveries of pipes, construction machinery and technological equipment?

Would the construction really slow down, as Chancellor H. Schmidt has said?

Certainly, delays would take place. (It would become necessary to get material from domestic resources, to speedily order the necessary machinery from another producer.) But this would be true only for the construction phase in question. The construction plan for the entire gas pipeline would nevertheless be fulfilled, even though a bit late.

What justifies us in drawing such conclusions? First, only two export branches of the seven large-diameter gas pipelines from Urengoy to the middle of the USSR's European part are being built with foreign participation. The others are in fact being realized without such participation; and, what's more, their construction is progressing at least at the same high speed as that of the Urengoy-Uzhgorod gas pipeline. For instance, the 3,570-km gas pipeline from Western Siberia to Novopskov south of Moscow will also be completed 3 months prior to the planned deadline.

Reader F.Z. from Jihlava is asking why the Soviet Union is building the largest number of gas pipelines in the world on the one hand, while on the other insufficiently promoting the design and production of top construction machinery and technological equipment for buildling them. For some time this thesis has been broadly propagated by certain Western communications media, with the clear aim of creating the illusion about some kind of Soviet Union dependence on the foreign exporters of pipe-laying machinery and other technology. But what are the facts?

First, we must realize that the Soviet Union has an ancient tradition in building many kilometers of pipelines for transporting various raw materials. The first 10-km crude oil pipeline on the territory of today's USSR was built in 1878, from Balakhan to Baku, the capital of Azerbaydzhan.

The American and West European press has been giving broad scope to the question of the impact which the stopped deliveries of American Caterpillar pipe-laying machinery to the USSR would have. But in the very same communications media we could scarcely find information that the United States, Japan and several other developed capitalist countries have already bought from the USSR a licence for producing the unique Sever I Automatic welder, designed by the E.O. Paton Research Institute of Electric Welding in Kiev.

Even prior to U.S. President Reagan's embargo proclamation, the Sterlitamakskiy engineering plant in the Bashkirskaya ASSR continued speedily developing its own 50-ton pipe-laying machine, which already today equals the famous Caterpillars. After the sanctions against the USSR were proclaimed last year, the people working in this tractor plant pledged themselves to produce this year 250 of these efficient specialized machines over and above plan.

Certainly, anybody can ask why the Soviet Union is interested in the broadest foreign participation in its energy construction projects. As always, bourgeois propaganda is making up reasons: a lagging technology, the bad quality of domestic production and so forth. In this instance, too, the wish is the father of the idea.

The construction of the Urengoy-center gas pipeline is only one of the many monumental projects on the Soviet Union's territory. Both the Soviet industry and its building industry have at their disposal sufficiently large and developed facilities and the necessary numbers of their own qualified workers and technicians. Why, then, are they orienting themselves also toward foreign cooperation which, at least to a certain extent and in the first period, will decrease the profits from the sales of this precious raw material? The possible international cooperation, the purchase of machines, pipes or work of foreign builders all release a part of the facilities of plants and construction organizations, which can then fulfill other, no less important tasks instead. That is why it is not surprising that other West European countries -- Spain and Portugal -- are expressing interest in Soviet gas.

The construction of the Urengoy-Uzhgorod gas pipeline is progressing smoothly. This is robbing many people overseas of their sleep.

'DEFORMATIONS' IN CADRE POLICY CRITICIZED

AU152204 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 12 March on page 3, in the column "Let Us Think About It Together," carries a 1,250-word article by Vojtech Vesely entitled "Humanism in the Wrong Place." The author opens his article by describing the situation in an unnamed factory and an unspecified united agricultural cooperative whose economic results go "from bad to worse." Yet, as Vesely notes, in neither case do "those in charge" consider replacing the director, either because "it would not be human" only 2 years before his retirement or because of the director's "past merits." Vesely calls this a manifestation of the "not infrequent deformation of the principles of the party's cadre policy," and goes on to describe the two forms in which such "deformation" occurs: "The first is when individuals who permanently fail to achieve the required results and who should, therefore, be replaced in their own interest and for the benefit of society are kept in their posts. The second is when individuals are appointed to their posts for reasons other than those listed in the clear criteria of the respective party resolutions (comprehensive class-political, professional and moral prerequisites)." Having noted the "immense losses" caused by such erroneous cadre decisions, Vesely asks about their reasons.

He says: "The motives are varied. For example, they can be of an emotional nature: nostalgia, sentimentality, recollections of bygone years when the comrade acquitted himself well and we have grown so accustomed to him in his post that we cannot even imagine anyone else in his place nor him in a different place.

"And sometimes there is a special offshoot of local patriotism -- regional ties [krajanstvo]. 'Some supervisors often surround themselves with people from their own village, town or district, assuming that they will be easier to deal with. They say: We are all from the same area, are we not?' The prewar party member A. Strnad from Petrzalka writes in a letter and he is right, indeed.

"It is worse when people who are even closer than those from one's own area are being promoted -- one's relatives. That, too, is not rare.

"Nostalgia, sentimentality, regional ties, nepotism, mergers of interests -- these are the dangerous vermins in the area of our cadre work."

Further, Vesely emphasizes that the party resolutions stipulate very clearly the principles by which cadre work should be guided and attributes to "opportunism in practice" that "sometimes or all too often reality is at loggerheads with these principles." He also regards as an "intolerable paradox" and the "primary source of shortcomings" that no one is ever called to account for having proposed or approved an incompetent person for a post.

Vesely goes on to say: "Humanism is a principle and a goal that is inherent to socialism. However, let us not be humane in the wrong place. Benevolence and excessive leniency toward ranking employees who commit grave mistakes constitute in fact, pseudohumanism because they spare individuals, yet do not spare but afflict frequently thousands of those who are supervised by incompetent people.

"Does this mean that those who cannot keep up for one reason or another must be unscrupulously 'dropped'? Not in the least. Neither a 'cadre earthquake' nor a distribution of 'exculpations' is desirable. He who was really committed to and fought for the cause of the party and socialism, frequently sacrificing his personal interests and even his health, deserves all due respect, recognition and comprehensive social security. However, appointing someone to a post cannot be a form of reward. A responsible post cannot be 'earned' by past merits but only by the present daily sweat and blood, by the realistic anticipations of a man's future contribution. It is not at all a question of the so-called generation gap as can often be heard (incidentally, the average of successful American managers is higher than that of our ranking personnel; 39 percent of them are, for example, above 60 and 7 percent above 70). It is a question of performance, approaches and prerequisites."

In conclusion, Vesely deplores the fact that a ranking employee's transfer to a less important post is not regarded as a "natural phenomenon" but that on the contrary, "he is treated haughtily, his authority declines and his former 'friends' turn their backs on him." This, together with the "ugly experience" that the successor usually besmirches the work and the results of his predecessor, prevents, according to Vesely, many ranking employees from leaving for "more suitable posts" of their own volition and makes them cling to their jobs.

On the same page, Bratislava PRAVDA carries a 2,100-word article by Jaroslav Mesko entitled "Eng Gabor's Peculiar Management." The article traces a "very grave complaint by an unnamed employee of the Trnava malt plant that attributed two fatal work accidents in the brewery to director Gabor's "gross carelessness." In addition, the complainer accused the director of increasing the administrative apparatus at the expense of production workers, of devoting himself to traveling and leaving other employees to carry out the managerial work, of chairing production consultations while intoxicated, and of dealing with Hungarian claimants' complaints about the Trnava beer by returning it to the brewery and "pouring it down the drain."

In the body of the article, Mesko reports on the investigation that was carried out by the Slovak People's Control Committee to verify the charges. Its findings have confirmed, according to Mesko, "gross shortcomings in managerial and control work" and the management's neglect of its obligations that contributed to the work accidents. Furthermore, the investigation confirmed that in October 1981 the director attended a production consultation as well as civil defense training the next day in a state of intoxication, that he used his official car for private trips, and that of the 110 work days in 1980 under scrutiny he spent 90 days on "tours of duty," without being able to prove the official nature of the business. According to Mesko, the destination of most of these trips was Senec where Gabor has a house or surrounding towns and villages where he has friends or relatives. In August 1981 Gabor also went on a 3-day "tour of duty" to Hungary, accompanied by his wife and daughter, without receiving the approval of the supraordinated body necessary for trips abroad. Reporting further on the outcome of the investigation, the article says that Gabor was assigning his relatives and friends to posts for which they lacked the necessary qualifications and was giving himself and his daughter benefits to which they were not entitled.

Having furnished this and other evidence of the "insufficient standard of managerial and control work" in the Trnava brewery, Mesko reports on director Gabor's response to the charges brought against him. In his written statement on the findings of the Slovak People's Control Committee, Gabor admitted, according to Mesko, "some shortcomings" and promised to "eliminate them even more consistently in the future." Responding to the charges concerning his intoxication and his tours of duty, Gabor reportedly wrote that he "consumed alcoholic beverages only occasionally" and that "it is true that the attention paid to tours of duty was not sufficient." He promised, however, that "I will continue to endeavor and try in all possible ways to eliminate my mistakes and will insist that all the other employees of the plant that I manage do the same." Mesko dismisses this response by the director as "requiring no special comment."

In conclusion, Mesko reports on the repercussions of the People's Control Committee's findings. He notes that director Gabor applied "disciplinary measures connected with financial sanctions" against 22 employees of the plant directly or indirectly responsible for the detected "shortcomings." As regards the director himself, his annual leave this year will be reduced by the number of days taken in excess last year, his use of the official car for private trips will be "reassessed" and a proposal for additional sanctions will be submitted. The circumstances of an unjustified tax relief granted to Gabor will also be reexamined, according to Mesko, and conclusions against the culprit will be drawn. Gabor's daughter, too, will have to return the 22 days of wages to which she was not entitled.

In conclusion, Mesko asks: "The knowledge of these conclusions directly thrusts the question upon us of whether the sanctions are commensurate with the detected shortcomings, whether a principled cadre solution at the top of the plant should not follow. We ask this of the enterprise director of the malt plants and the general directorate of breweries and malt plants."

WRITERS UNION CHAIRMAN REPROVES LITERARY CRITICS

AU131750 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Mar 82 p 3

["Excerpts" from the speech by Jan Kozak, chairman of the Czechoslovak Writers Union, delivered at the second congress of that organization in Prague 9 March]

[Excerpt] As writers we expect critics to clearly and sharply differentiate between a work of art, whose content is the author's active coparticipation in the life of the present-day man and his resolution of his problems, and works of authors who still pop up here and there in all spheres of our art and who avoid concrete life or, in the best of cases, employ the indifferent approach of photographing life.

From time to time works are occasionally published and even propagated by some critics which are totally detached from our social reality and which downright knowingly obliterate its most miniscule features, while pretending to be modern and while falsely assuming world appeal.

Permit me to say a few words about our young, oncoming creative generation, in whose ranks -- in fiction and poetry -- a number of remarkable talents can be found. This is very promising for the future of our literature.

Therefore, we will, together with both national unions, continue with even greater endeavors to systematically devote ourselves to the issues of ideological assistance to young writers. In other respects, of course -- and this we must openly say -- the same criteria of ideological and artistic values of socialist literature, and therefore also the same rights and the same duties, apply to literature as a whole, regardless of the individual generation currents. Some individual critics are false "friends" of young writers. They are really doing them a disservice and are harming socialist literature as a whole by knowingly kowtowing to young literature and trying to apply other than socialist literary criteria to it. They therefore renounce in their reviews the principles of art's social responsibility toward the people and socialism, and praise the ideological emptiness of works and various old fashioned formal experiments and verbal formalism.

DAILY COMMENTS ON FOOD SUPPLY PROBLEMS, CAUSES

AU161408 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 15 Mar 82 p 3

[L. Nedelceva commentary: "To Put an End to Irregular Supplies"]

[Text] Following last year's relatively low grain harvest and various considerations and calculations that showed the unfeasibility of increased imports of fodder grain from abroad, we were well aware that this year's winter would be marked by greater savings in agricultural and food industry enterprises. The rigidly set allocations and various other measures were to ensure regular supplies of foodstuffs to the population, a certain modesty provided.

However, there were also people, and they were not few, who responded to the open discussion on savings measures as though it were an appeal to speedily replenish their own stocks, which they did in often unjustified quantities. The foolish bulk purchases certainly did not contribute to maintaining a balance on the domestic market. It is possible that the long and at times rather harsh winter, which has not only made people nervous but has had a bad impact on the condition of livestock and its yields, also played a negative role.

It must be admitted, however, that these were not the only causes of various stumbling blocks that occurred in supplies with foodstuffs. It seems that some measures and fodder allocations for milk or meat production presumed optimal development and failed to anticipate harsher conditions. However, precisely such conditions existed again. It could thus happen that in the first 2 months [of 1982] the farmers fell short of the milk procurement plan, even of the scaled down plan that was adjusted to the more modest fodder base. This shortfall is not negligible -- it amounts to more than 7.8 million liters. It is understandable that, given the substantially lower quantity of raw material, the dairy industry employees had to ensure on a preferential basis milk for consumption, and even this was only ordinary milk, as well as butter. These are basic foodstuffs. There was no raw material left for the production of many other sought-after dairy products and the consumer really missed them in the shops.

Pork fat represented a grave problem. Its shortage could not be compensated for even by the substantially increased sale of edible oils and vegetable fats.

This problem could perhaps have been anticipated and forestalled, if for no other reason than because the trade asked for 10,000 tons of pork fat for the first half of the year while the planned pork production could ensure 5,980 tons at the most.

Certain irregularities followed the price adjustments and increased price differentiation for individual types of meat. The interest of the consuming public concentrated more markedly on some cheaper cuts such as pork belly, which only a few weeks after the price adjustment became almost a scarce product. Here, too, someone failed to think things to the end while carrying out various adjustments, forgetting that the changed calculations -- in the enterprise canteens, for example -- will force their employees to "scratch about" especially for these cheaper cuts of meat.

It is true that the highest state and party bodies show great care for our population's nutrition and, as an integral part of it, for regular supplies of the domestic market with foodstuffs. The present signals about some problems, too, have triggered a quick reaction. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the Slovak Socialist Republic, together with the Ministry of Trade and other government agencies, have taken many joint steps in the interest of immediately improving the situation in our shops. A decision has been made to import pork fat as well as a certain amount of pork, some of it in exchange for beef. A decision has also been made to grant a loan from the state contingency fund, which will have to be returned, of course, after the new harvest and once the milk procurement is increased. This loan concerns butter, which -- together with the temporary curtailment of the production of powdered milk -- will make it possible to improve supplies of dairy cream, sour milk and other dairy products, as well as fodder to beef up the fodder rations in justified cases. The mill and bakery industry will also receive somewhat more grain -- also in the form of a loan -- because following the price adjustments the consumers have shown greater interest in bread and bakery products.

The newly adopted measures are not exhausted herewith. They also include elements that are designed to ensure that the irregularities that became apparent on our market at the beginning of the year will be only temporary. This concerns decisions such as obliging producers and trade to examine every 10 days the development on the market and the fulfillment of adopted measures; increasing the average procurement weight of pigs; or designating agricultural enterprises that will specialize in breeding heavyweight pigs raised for fat.

All this is correct and in order. But when we recall the problems that needlessly embittered us during the short winter days and made us stand in long lines in front of the shops, we cannot escape some prying thought and questions. Why, for example, do farmers in the Czech Lands and thus also in the adjoining Moravian Region consistently achieve, not only this winter, milk with a substantially higher fat content -- more than 4 percent -- while we do not? Some experts have figured out that had the same amount of milk been procured in Slovakia last year with the same fat content as in the Czech Socialist Republic, there would not have been problems with butter and some other dairy products. Another such question would be why the decision to halt the production of powdered milk did not come earlier, considering that for rather a long time the dairy industry employees have been drawing attention to the unfavorable development in milk procurement.

It is also startling that in a situation in which the consumer shows greater interest in cheaper cuts of meat, 500 tons of pig's heads are "eating" expensive energy in deep-freeze houses and no correct form of marketing them can be found.

Indeed, one of the effective recipes for putting an end forever to such supply difficulties is to learn to solve things with the necessary foresight and comprehensively get rid of halfheartedness in assuming one's position.

However, this does not mean that we absolve from the main responsibility the employees of the agricultural-food industry complex, who must use this year's experiences to pursue more energetically the set direction of self-sufficiency. The issue of ensuring fodder will be particularly important, in view of the loans from the state contingency fund, because the borrowed fodder will have to be returned and, in addition, better prerequisites will have to be created for the next season. However, as we have indicated, this is not the only problem that must be pondered.

DAILY VIEWS TWO APPROACHES TO AGRICULTURE

AU171311 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 12 Mar 82 p 1

[Jiri Franek article: "Agriculture Facing Test"]

[Excerpts] What had to come, has come. Only talking about the need to increase production while reducing consumption is not enough; there comes a time when one has to begin doing it. As a consequence agriculture is facing a doubly exacting plan this year: on the one hand a performance that should also make up for last year's losses, on the other hand limited imputs, in particular the reduced allocation of diesel fuel.

Actually, the agricultural year has not begun yet; for the time being the test facing all agricultural enterprises is more or less only being discussed -- and solutions are being sought.

The test is to resolve -- and here the word pops up again -- problems which have accumulated in recent years because, although we knew about the urgency of finding solutions, we have somehow been postponsing them. It is clear that the current cardinal problems of our agriculture could be resolved in two ways. This, at least, arises from two diametrically opposed views, which we journalists specializing in agriculture have been hearing of late from people out on the farms and from people in management. The difficult thing is to decide which one to choose -- rather a risky decision to make.

The first view claims that we "somewhat overdid it" when about 10 years ago we enlarged agricultural enterprises under the slogan of concentration, cooperation and specialization, that the result today are only longer distances as regards transportation and more paper work. And this view is on the whole correct, at least to the extent of the facts noted. The other view (obviously shared by the minority thus far), on the other hand, claims that it is possible that we might have overdone it a bit 10 years ago, but in the meantime those 10 years have passed, after all. That it might not have been a mistake that we tried to opt for a real large-scale agricultural production, but perhaps the mistake lies precisely in the fact that that we have only tried.

The first view asserts that we would do better to return to the old well-tried ways, in short that we should do what formerly yielded us good results and what we knew how to do. To put it more accurately, this is not actually asserted -- it only follows from this view. The other view, on the contrary, resolutely says what should be done now: that is, one should not repudiate what has not been 100 percent successful, but -- above all -- one should find out why it was not successful.

These two views also have their conclusions. The first one, in essence, aims at simplification which could yield savings, but would hardly be capable of radically increasing production. Its weakspot emerges in a simple economic calculation: if our production stagnates, we could, perhaps, achieve savings with simple means, but we will remain stuck with the old debts, with a dead investment that did not bring the desired effect. The other view "only" strives for making use of what we have invested in agricultural production. This has been fairly demanding on capital investment, but -- thus far -- less demanding on the abilities of organizers.

This year will show quite a few things. But the fundamental decisions must be made at the beginning.

PRESS SUPPORT CITED FOR USSR NUCLEAR INITIATIVE

LD180936 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0218 GMT 18 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Berlin, 18 Mar (ADN) -- The important proposals submitted by Leonid Brezhnev "have met with a lively response throughout the world," says NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on Thursday under its front-page headline "New Soviet Initiatives for Securing Peace at the Center of the World's Attention." Numerous public figures are quoted on this issue. In a commentary entitled "New Initiative by Socialism for Securing Peace," the paper writes: "Our emphatic support for the new Soviet initiative is based not least of all on our awareness of our responsibility, especially here in Europe at the meeting-point between socialism and capitalism, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, to do everything conceivable to improve the international situation." BERLINER ZEITUNG writes: "The Soviet Union is the only nation in history to unilaterally and voluntarily make concessions in arms limitation in a situation of threatening tensions and constantly growing arms arsenals." BAUERN-ECHO says: "For the USSR and the socialist fraternal countries allied with it, word and deed have become an inseparable unity in securing peace."

JUNGE WELT writes: "The new Soviet initiatives are of particularly far-reaching importance because they not only signal a readiness to disarm but also undertake concrete steps towards this end." NEUE ZEIT, the Christian-Democratic paper, writes that these incentive-giving proposals demonstrate to the world once again "that the Soviet Union is doing everything in its power to demonstrate its readiness for peace and its good will."

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Comments

LD181050 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0222 GMT 18 Mar 82

[Excerpts] Berlin, 18 Mar (ADN) -- The GDR fully supports the important Soviet initiative, says Thursday's issue of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND with regard to the new proposals made by Leonid Breznev for securing peace. "It constitutes fresh evidence that the Soviet Union as Erich Honecker recently stressed in his speech to the first secretaries of district executives, is continuing full steam ahead, together with its allies, on its course towards the solving of the most important issue of the present time -- securing peace -- despite the slander campaign by the supporters of the arms race. Our emphatic support for the new Soviet initiative is based not least of all on our awareness of our responsibility, especially here in Europe at the meeting-point between socialism and capitalism, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, to do everything conceivable to improve the international situation."

The paper writes: "At a time when the most aggressive imperialist circles are pursuing a policy of confrontation and in support of the fanatical arms race, a policy which is poisoning the international climate and increasing the threat of war, the socialist world power is yet again in word and deed giving a signal for a change to effective disarmament steps, for an improvement of the world situation."

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND explains Leonid Brezhnev's proposals in detail and goes on to say: "All this is evidence of the consistency and continuity of Soviet peace policy which will now allow itself to be diverted by anything, by any provocation, from its general line: to live up to the basic demand of the times, to work with all those who are ready to ban the threat of a nuclear inferno for lasting peace on earth. This is a policy which the Soviet Union introduced 6 and a half decades ago with Lenin's call to all people, a policy which was formulated for the 80's in the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress. With the new initiative announced by Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow, this line of securing peace is being defined and continued in accordance with the current situation.

"On this most important issue of the present time, the Soviet Union has once again set a good example worth following. The peoples rightly expect that the other side will now make a constructive response to this far-reaching concession."

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND continues, saying that it is precisely because the implementation of the Brussels NATO missile decision would remove the foundation from any agreements still possible today that "imperialist delaying tactics with regard to constructive negotiating offers on the part of the Soviet Union are so dangerous and increase the peoples' great concern for peace. It is for this very reason that it is so necessary that the other side consent at last to adopting a constructive attitude. This would, after all, be in its own basic interests. The new Soviet step is an encouragement to all those in the world who are working to secure peace and disarmament, not least in the NATO countries themselves. These forces and this mood are becoming increasingly noticeable even in the U.S.

HONECKER RECEIVES FRG INDUSTRY PRESIDENT

AU161334 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Mar 82 p 1

[ADN report: "Erich Honecker's Talks with Otto Wolff von Amerongen: Economic Relations in Mutual Interest"]

[Text] Leipzig (ADN) -- On Sunday, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the FRG's Federation of Chambers of German Industry and Commerce and chairman of the board of the Otto Wolff AG Corporation, who is in Leipzig on the occasion of the 1982 Leipzig Spring Fair.

During the talks it was noted in agreement that the further development of economic relations between the GDR and the FRG is in the mutual interest. The participation of prominent FRG exhibitors in Leipzig promotes the further stable development of the mutually useful economic relations and hence of the overall relations.

Participating in the meeting were on the GDR side: Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and member of the State Council, and State Secretary Gerhard Beil, member of the Council of Ministers.

Otto Wolff von Amerongen was accompanied by Guenther Remy, member of the board of the Otto Wolff AG Corporation, and by Manfred Eckermann, director of the Otto Wolff AG Corporation.

HONECKER MEETS WITH SAARBRUECKEN MAYOR

LD162246 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1644 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Berlin, 16 Mar (ADN) -- Today Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, had talks with Oskar Lafontaine, chairman of the Saarland SPD and mayor of Saarbruecken, and Norbert Engel, deputy chairman of the Saarland SPD, who are in the GDR on a factfinding visit.

During the conversation the two sides underlined the necessity of doing everything possible to counter the danger of nuclear war and secure permanent peace. They assigned special importance to the dialogue between statesmen of countries with different social orders particularly in the present situation. They agreed that it is important to continue to develop relations between the two German states constructively in the spirit of the meeting between Erich Honecker and Helmut Schmidt at Werbellinsee. Herbert Haeber, member of the SED Central Committee also took part in the meeting.

TISCH ADDRESSES SOVIET TU CONGRESS DELEGATES

LD171756 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1544 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 17 Mar (ADN) -- The outstanding results of socialist progress in the USSR testify to the industriousness and resourcefulness of Soviet workers, peasants and members of the intelligentsia. This was stressed by Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB National Executive, who today conveyed the fraternal greetings of the working people of the GDR to the delegates to the Soviet trade union congress which is meeting in Moscow. "We are convinced that with the decisions of this congress you will help to develop this creative power further and in this way, under the leadership of the party of Lenin, contribute fruitfully to the implementation of the general line of the 26th party congress." Harry Tisch stressed that since the 1917 October Revolution socialism has uncreasingly continued its triumphant progress despite all resistance and difficulties. "We consider ourselves lucky to be firmly and unshakably allied with the country of Lenin, the trailblazer of human progress."

Harry Tisch then said: "The decisive question with which the world is concerned today is the question of war or peace." The even more determined mobilization of the great strength of the international trade union movement for the cause of peace and the determined defense of the highest human right -- the right to life -- thus is an urgent requirement. "The wide-ranging Soviet proposals for arms limitation and disarmament show how the imperialist confrontation course can be opposed and the danger of a nuclear war banned," he said. Especially in Europe, which according to Mr Reagan's plans could become a nuclear desert, the results of detente must be preserved and developed further in the spirit of peaceful coexistence." The 9-million members of the FDGB are aware of the responsibility which they bear on the dividing line between imperialism and socialism in Europe for the preservation and safeguarding of peace.

Harry Tisch reported on the preparations of GDR trade unionists for their forthcoming congress and the mass movement in socialist competition that has been launched to mark it. "This congress will reflect the awareness of the comprehensive rights of trade unionists in our country, rights which have never existed previously in the history of the German trade union movement." He noted that here the working people of the GDR have found the wealth of experience of their Soviet trade union colleagues an indispensable aid. "In this way we are helping to fulfill the great tasks which result from the very close cooperation of our peoples and socialist integration in the 1980s. Thus we also are helping to put into practice in daily life the treaty of freindship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the GDR and the USSR."

PUBLIC READING OF AUTHORS FOR PEACE 23 MAR

AU171349 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Mar 82 p 4

[Summary] Berlin (ND) -- "Authors for Peace" is the slogan of a public mass event on 23 March at 1900 in the Berlin kongresshalle on Alexanderplatz. After various manifestations and reading in several bezirke and in Berlin authors of the writers union will again demonstrate the determination to support the maintaining of peace.

GASPAR SPEAKS AT BREZHNEV AWARD CEREMONY IN MOSCOW

LD171808 Budapest MTI in English 1712 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 17 Mar (MTI) -- Sandor Gaspar, president of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and WFTU Secretary General Ibrahim Zakiriya presented the Gold Medal of the world organization to Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the USSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium, on Wednesday in Moscow at the 17th congress of the Soviet trade unions.

The decision to honour the Soviet leader was taken by the 10th World Trade Union Congress.

Felicitating Leonid Brezhnev on the occasion, Sandor Gaspar said, "the workers of the world deem highly significant the new peace proposals outlined by you in your speech yesterday.

"Since their inception, the Soviet Union and its Communist Party have consistently worked, with their deep sense of responsibility for the destiny of the world's workers, humanity, on realizing their historic mission.

"It is particularly important to underline the Soviet Union's world historical role today when chilly trends have again come to dominate in the international life. The very existence of the Soviet Union, however, hinders the international bourgeoisie, imperialism from implementing their schemes dangerous for entire mankind."

Following this, Sandor Gaspar spoke about the 10th World Trade Union Congress held in Havana where the representatives of 269 million organized workers met and conferred.

"Our congress demonstrated the strength, determination and willingness of the world's workers to serve the holy cause of the working class, working people with every means at their disposal.

"It was expressed at the congress that the working class has no future, no alternative other than socialism."

Again addressing Leonid Brezhnev, the speaker stressed, "your untiring leadership and activity for the good of entire humanity are well known the world over. The decoration which we are presenting today to you on behalf of the 10th World Trade Union Congress, embodies the recognition of the world's organized workers and the international trade union movement.

"We wish you further successes, strength and good health for the good of the Soviet people, state and the world's workers."

The congress delegates gave a long and enthusiastic ovation when Sandor Gaspar, heading the WFTU delegation presented the Gold Medal to Leonid Brezhnev.

The CPSU CC general secretary warmly thanked the high decoration.

More on Gaspar Speeches

For Soviet media coverage of the activities of the Hungarian delegation at the 17th congress of Soviet trade unions taking place in the Kremlin, including an account of the speeches given by Sandor Gaspar in both his capacity as chairman of the WFTU and as Hungarian delegate at the 16 March session of the congress, see the Political & Social Developments section of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for 18 March, and subsequent issues.

MAGYAR HIRLAP ON TALKS WITH PORTUGUESE CP

AU162031 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Mar 82 p 3

[Unattributed report: "MSZMP Delegation's Visit to Portugal"]

[Text] At the invitation of the PCP Central Committee, an MSZMP delegation led by Andras Gyenes, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, visited Portugal from 9 to 13 March. The delegation included Sandor Gulyas, member of the Central Committee and chairman of the Rakoczi producer cooperative of Heves, and Attila Gecse, member of the Central Committee staff.

The delegation had talks with a negotiating group led by PCP Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal, which included Carlos Costa, member of the Politburo and the Secretariat, and Albano Nunes, Central Committee member and head of its International Relations Department.

The delegation visited Avis District, where it met with Antonio Gervasio, member of the PCP Politburo, paid a visit to the local 1 May producer cooperative and the city of Loures, inspected the Mague iron and metal plant and met with the PCP's municipal and regional leadership in Lisbon. The delegation attended a mass friendship rally in Santa Iria de Azoia. At their talks, the delegations expressed their mutual solidarity, which is based on proletarian internationalism. They agreed to continue strengthening friendly cooperation between the MSZMP and the PCP, which serves well the interests of their countries and peoples and the cause of social progress, socialism and peace.

In reviewing the international situation, the two parties' representatives condemned imperialist and primarily U.S. extremist endeavors to upset the military balance of power, intensify the arms race and foment international tension. They stressed that the MSZMP and the PCP welcome and support every initiative that substantially fosters restraint in the arms race -- which imposes heavy burdens on the peoples of the world and threatens the peace and security of mankind -- and strengthens mutual trust and cooperation among countries with different social systems. They noted that the proposals of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries serve well the realization of these objectives.

The two delegations condemned the imperialist forces' intervention in the domestic affairs of Poland and their attempts to use the Polish events to increase international tension, thereby seriously endangering detente.

The two parties' representatives emphasized that the achievements, peace policy and international solidarity of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are of fundamental significance in advancing the cause of social progress. They stressed that revolutionary transformation results in ever richer experiences of many varieties, which is expressed among others ways, in the socialist-oriented national liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America. They noted that the success of the struggle underway for socialism requires a creative application, in accordance with the concrete conditions of individual countries, of the tenets of Marxism-Leninism and the use of the experiences obtained in socialist construction.

The two parties' delegations attributed particular importance to strengthening the unity of the international communist and workers movements and the collaboration and mutual solidarity of all the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces of our time from the viewpoint of defending peace and furthering the revolutionary process.

Andras Gyenes met and exchanged views with Oliveira Dias, president of the assembly of the republic, and Melo Antunes, member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and president of the Constitional Commission.

The delegation returned home last night.

PRESS PRAISES BREZHNEV PEACE PROPOSAL

LD180928 Warsaw PAP in English 0837 GMT 18 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Mar (PAP) -- Commenting on Leonid Brezhnev's address delivered to the Soviet Trade Union Congress, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote, inter alia:

"The Soviet leader announced continuation by his government of untiring efforts towards reaching a 'sensible agreement on the basis of equality and equal security of the parties concerned'. At the same time he announced the Soviet leadership's decision proclaiming unilaterally a moratorium on deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union.

"By so doing the socialist big power has decided to take another unilateral step which expresses its good will and its desire to reach agreement on a matter of vital importance not only for the Soviet Union itself and the United States, but the nations of the entire Europe as well.

"There is no need to elaborate on the significance of reduction of nuclear armaments in Europe for the Polish nation and for our homeland which lies in such a neuralgic region of this continent. This after all is a matter of security of life of every inhabitant of the country situation between the Bug and Odra rivers. This impels us to share the hopes of our Soviet neighbours that this time Washington and the entire Atlantic bloc will recognise the good will expressed in the Soviet Union's decision," said ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

"This is an event which will determine the East-West discussion for a long time', TRYBUNA LUDU commentator wrote of the latest Soviet disarmament proposal submitted by Leonid Brezhnev.

"In a very complicated international situation of intesifying confrontation and armaments by the U.S. administration, the socialist great power guided by the superior interests of peace and security of all nations repeated its programme of peace and saving the world from the threat of nuclear disaster. The Soviet Union has confirmed that its policy is permanently faithful to the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence which has been the basic principle of the Soviet foreign policy for the 60 years of the USSR's existence," the commentator stressed.

"The Soviet Union has made a giant unilateral step in the right direction when 'the world found itself at the cross-roads,' Moscow has shown the way to common sense which leads to reversing a potentially disastrous trend of the U.S. policy and that of NATO armourers'," TRYBUNA LUDU continued.

"The programme of consolidating peace and peaceful coexistence, opposing the armaments hysteria and antagonizing East-West relations agrees with vital interests of the working people of all continents", said the commentary.

"The policy of the USSR agrees with the aspirations of the working people all over the world, with requirements for securing a peaceful future for the present and future generations. It is in this spirit that also the Polish public opinion assesses Soviet detente and disarmament proposals submitted by Leonid Brezhnev," TRYBUNA LUDU concluded.

PAPER CRITICIZES BELGIAN IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS

LD180952 Warsaw PAP in English 0843 GMT 18 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Mar (PAP) -- The RZECZPOSPOLITA Polish daily criticised today Belgium's decision to apply restrictions in economic and cultural exchange with Poland and [words indistinct] joining in the campaign of interference in Poland's internal affairs unleashed by the U.S.A.

"This is incompatible with the decisions of the Helsinki conference and the principles of international cooperation," the daily charged and recalled that Belgian Foreign Minister Tindemans, who made a sharp statement against Poland during the first session of the CSCE meeting in Madrid, is the same man who declared in Helsinki that his country was giving priority to security.

"What is this priority meant to look like? Is it to be one urging interference in the internal affairs of another state and consisting in putting forth conditions?

"What would the Belgians say if one of the European states made its contacts with Belgium depend on the urgent solution of the issue of unemployment or the dispute between the Walloon and Flemish population going on since time immemorial," RZECZPOSPOLITA asked.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS WARSAW PACT EXERCISES

LD180940 Warsaw PAP in English 083? GMT 18 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Mar (PAP) -- In an article headlined "Poland and Warsaw Treaty: Guarantee of Security", TRYBUNA LUDU wrote, among other things:

"The signing of the Warsaw Treaty lay in the interest of all socialist countries for it allowed them rationally to pool and utilize in case of need the available defence forces.

"In the course of over 25 years of the alliance, cooperation between the air defence systems of the treaty signatories, which is the most neuralgic area, has been visibly consolidated.

"The last few years also saw development of constructive cooperation between the naval forces of Poland, the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic.

"The treaty's provisions lay down that specially selected army contingents should be assigned for allied cooperation in the form of joint command and staff exercises as well as exercises with participation of army units. The latter exercises, although very useful, are staged relatively rarely and limited in scope. In this respect, the Warsaw Treaty member states are giving an example of uncommon restraint. The first inter-alliance exercises on Poland's territory were held in 1962, several years after NATO exercises, and the successive games took place alternately in the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia. The programme of these games has never raised any doubts that the purpose was to perfect definitely defensive operations.

"The Polish Army has been also making a valuable contribution to the strengthening of the defensive alliance, above all through strict and dedicated adherance to the training and organisational programme.

"At Poland's initiative, exchange visits of army units between the allied armies spread over the training year were introduced into regular practice ten years ago.

"The Friendship-82 allied exercises currently being held on Poland's territory also serve the consolidation of friendship and fraternal cooperation," said TRYBUNA LUDU in conclusion.

VICE PREMIER RAKOWSKI ADDRESSES TEACHERS

AU171443 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Mar 82 p 5

[Report on speech by Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski at the 13 March session of the 2-day Warsaw theoretical-political conference of teachers and educational workers]

[Text] Speaking about the current sociopolitical situation in Poland and about educational issues, Vice Premier M. Rakowski referred to the social importance of the teaching profession and said that it had not always been duly appreciated in the past. We want to change this state of affairs, he said. The teacher's charter provides opportunities for strengthening the moral and material position of teachers within society. However, teachers' authority depends not only on the government and its concern for the teaching community, but also on teachers themselves -- on their skills in teaching children and youngsters, on their moral attitudes and on their loyalty to socialism.

The views about real socialism may vary, M. Rakowski said, but even the most critical views are unable to obscure the truth that socialism is a formation of the future. The teachers who think that socialism is a social system to be combated should not teach in the schools run by the socialist state. He should make a choice: To remain a teacher or to find another job. Schools may be areas in which various views may clash, but such views must be compatible with the socialist system.

M. Rakowski recalled that like all our people so the teachers' community has passed the stormy period of events between August 1980 and 13 December 1981. He analyzed more profoundly those events and dwelt at length on the problem of Polish-Soviet relations, stressing that our country's entire history proves that only the Soviet Union -- our eastern neighbor -- can be Poland's natural ally. Efforts have been made to undermine that obvious truth. One of the basic tasks of our educators is to make this truth clear to our young people and to foster their sense of security.

M. Rakowski then discussed at length historical truth. The call for loyalty to that truth, he said, was very loud last year. It is a fact that many events of the past 30 years have been tackled in a muted manner and shamefacedly. They should be explained. However, they must not be turned into sensational occurrences, nor must they be used as the means of the political struggle, as was the case, unfortunately.

Returning to the analysis of the events before 13 December 1981, M. Rakowski discussed the destructive role of strikes. The school strike in Lublin was a dark chapter in our education, he said. It served as an example of what hopeless situation one may reach when one loses one's sense of moral responsibility for the fate of the fatherland.

Describing the country's present situation, M. Rakowski said that it was characterized by most differentiated attitudes of people: from approving of martial law and supporting the commitments of daily work through promoting activities in conflict with martial law. Such activities attest to profound rage or stupidity. The manifestations of clandestine activities in secondary schools are especially disturbing, and so is some teachers' tolerance vis-a-vis such happenings. Such teachers take upon themselves a great moral responsibility and may not count on the authorities' leniency. Anyone taking such a course will be taken to account. The state authorities did not decide to take such a dramatic measure as martial law in order to allow such harmful manifestations to spread.

At the moment, M. Rakowski continued, it is urgently necessary to examine the effectiveness of our educational system, the model of our education and that which should be changed and improved. It is worth examining how we can bring young people closer to life and teach them respect for work. We should also take a critical view of the bodies representing the educational authorities. Many management structures should be changed and improved. It is necessary to examine -- especially in the light of the past year's experience -- the effectiveness of the educational model and that which should be changed in it.

M. Rakowski was asked many questions about sociopolitical and economic problems, international relations, martial law and so on. He gave exhaustive answers to many of them. Speaking of the future of trade unions and of the activities of the Union of Polish Teachers against this background, which was of special interest to the session, he said that the solution of these issues would be determined by the country's situation. He praised the activities of the Union of Polish Teachers during the time he had had contacts with it. He also appealed for cooperation, for confidence in the authorities' measures and for a sensible and committed fulfillment of teachers' duties in training the young generation.

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES ECONOMIC REFORM COMMITTEE

AU171448 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Mar 82 pp 1,2

[Report on speech by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the meeting of the Economic Reform Committee on 11 March -- place not given, capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] OPENING THE TALKS, [at the 11 March Economic Reform Committee session] PREMIER WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI STRESSED THAT THE PRESENT MEETING OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM COMMITTEE OPENS A NEW STAGE IN ITS ACTIVITY. In the past, the work of the committee and its teams has concentrated on the idea of reform and drafting laws connected with it. Right now, the burden of work is being shifted to problems concerning the implementation of the new principles of the economy's functioning, and to analyzing the effects of the functioning of the mechanisms of reform.

REFERRING TO THE INTRODUCTION OF MARTIAL LAW, W. JARUZELSKI SAID THAT THIS HAS NOT SLOWED DOWN WORK ON ECONOMIC REFORM TO ANY EXTENT. Quite the contrary. Without restoring order and social discipline, and without putting an end to anarchy and slackness it would be impossible to tidy up the economy and lead enterprises onto the road to self-dependence and self-financing, and the words of reform would be meaningless. THE WHOLESALE AND RETAIL PRICE CHANGES HAVE CREATED A FOREGROUND FOR REFORM, PREREQUISITES FOR RESTORING THE STABILITY OF THE MARKET AND STRENGTHENING OUR CURRENCY, AND A MOTIVATION FOR BETTER WORK AND RATIONAL MANAGEMENT IN ENTERPRISES.

General Jaruzelski then stressed that we are introducing economic reform under exceptionally unfavorable conditions. These conditions have been drastically worsened because of the sanctions by the United States and by other capitalist countries. In view of the drastic shortage of many raw materials and coproduction elements, and in view of the sharp deficit in hard currency, real threats to production have arisen in certain spheres. THESE MATTERS MUST BE SOLVED PRIMARILY BY CHANGES IN THE RANGE OF PRODUCTS AND BY SUBSTITUTING POLISH RAW MATERIALS FOR IMPORTED RAW MATERIALS, GENERAL JARUZELSKI SAID.

Much will depend here on the enterprises themselves, and in particular on the initiative shown by the scientific and technical people, as well as on encouraging and exploiting well-organized activity. Creating closer cooperation with the socialist countries is also very important. Gen Jaruzelski stressed that new possibilities and chances are being unfolded, particularly in our cooperation with the Soviet Union. However, we will not avoid cases of temporary restrictions and even halts in production in some plants. But this will only be as a last resort, and the government has prepared instructions which will enable the best possible solutions to people's problems in such cases.

SPEAKING ABOUT THE DOUBTS WHICH SOMETIMES APPEAR ON WHETHER WE SHOULD CONTINUE THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTING ECONOMIC REFORM UNDER SUCH COMPLICATED CONDITIONS, GENERAL JARUZELSKI STRESSED THAT THE SEVENTH PLENUM HAD ADOPTED AN UNANIMOUS STAND IN THIS MATTER. There is and can be no backing down from the line of reform which constitutes an integral part of the program of socialist renewal, and which is an important factor in overcoming the socio-economic crisis. The adoption by the Sejm of additional laws concerning economic reform makes this line firmer. General Jaruzelski laid particular stress on the fact that for the first time in the history of our country, the principles of the functioning of our economy have been laid down in the form of a law.

This is, in accordance with the intentions of the ninth congress, an important step toward building up institutional guarantees for the development of socialist democracy and for creating the mechanisms for lasting socioeconomic progress.

We want to implement the principles of reform on as wide a scale as possible, Gen Jaruzelski said. However, we cannot ignore the restrictiors and other factors which are presently making the implementation of certain final solutions impossible. In connection with this, it is particularly necessary to control basic raw and other materials as well as foreign currency. In applying temporary solutions, we do not lose sight of the future. For we are well aware -- as a result of past experience -- that it is very easy to deviate from our chosen road, and that it takes great effort and determination to overcome routine and old habits and methods of action.

Gen Jaruzelski then stressed that economic reform is now facing its most difficult test. For in the end, practice shows the meaning of theory, the foundations of the system and new ideas. From this stems the necessity for constantly analyzing whether the mechanisms which have been introduced will really help solve the most vital problems facing the country's economy. HOWEVER, GEN JARUZELSKI ADDED THAT WE NEED PATIENCE AND TIME IN ORDER TO DETERMINE IN A RESPONSIBLE MANNER WHETHER THE NEW PRINCIPLES WILL WORK OUT IN PRACTICE AND WHERE ANY FAULTY IDEAS OR PRACTICAL WEAKNESSES LIE. ONLY ON THE BASIS OF SUCH AN ANALYSIS IS IT POSSIBLE TO MAKE DECISIONS TO CORRECT, CHANGE OR IMPROVE THE SYSTEM'S SOLUTIONS, AND ONLY THEN SHOULD WE DO SO.

In this context, it should be considered very important that from the very beginning a system of observing and checking the effects of the reform and its correct implementation be organized. The Council of Ministers has placed the government plenipotentiary for economic reform matters under an obligation to work out such a system. It ought to be a system which will provide an answer as quickly as possible to the question of whether the reform will bring the expected results, and whether as a result of the new economic mechanisms production factors are being better exploited, work organization is improving and output is increasing. It is also important that the weaknesses and negative effects of the economic mechanisms be noticed in good time.

GEN JARUZELSKI REFERRED TO THE MATTER OF PRICES FIXED BY ENTERPRISES. WE SHOULD BE PARTICULARLY AWARE OF ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE THE EFFECTS OF MISMANAGEMENT AND BAD WORK ORGANIZATION ON CONSUMERS. Particular attention must also be paid to the social phenomena which the reform is creating on the labor market, as regards social security and the widely-conceived social infrastructure.

Gen Jaruzelski then said that economic reform makes the state's new role in the economy a leading issue. The echo of demagogic calls to deprive the state of its influence over the activities of enterprises has not died away yet. Life has shown very quickly that the community rejects such ideas. Citizens and individual social groups demand that the socialist state give them social protection, and they demand actions to protect them against the negative effects of market mechanisms.

SPEAKING ABOUT THE FIRST STAGE OF IMPLEMENTING ECONOMIC REFORM, GEN JARUZELSKI STRESSED THAT IN THIS ACTION AND IN TRAINING ECHELONS, AN IMPORTANT ROLE FALLS ON ALL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTES AND SOCIAL-PROFESSIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL ORGANIZATIONS. ECONOMIC REFORM PRESENTS COMPLETELY NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR THESE BODIES TO BECOME ACTIVE. It gives a chance for innovators, organizers, technical inventors and economists to become active too. Gen Jaruzelski also recognized that training and consultative activity had increased, and he stressed this. We hope, he said, that the problems of reshaping the principles behind the functioning of the economy will become a leading matter for research at economic institutions of higher learning.

During the final part of his speech, General Jaruzelski said that the pace of work on the concept of reform up to now had made possible wide social participation in shaping the program for altering the system of the economy's functioning. Today it is a matter of ensuring social control over the implementation of the reform. The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic has accepted supervision over the general way in which work on implementing the economic reform is proceeding. THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF NATIONAL COUNCILS OF ALL LEVELS IN THIS WORK IS ALSO ASSURED. RESHAPING THE SYSTEM OF THE ECONOMY'S FUNCTIONING HAS ALSO GAINED STRONG SUPPORT FROM PARTY CELLS AND ORGANIZATIONS, AND FROM OUR ALLIED PARTIES.

General Jaruzelski expressed his conviction that introducing the principles of the reform to enterprises will become a top priority task for the workers' self-management bodies which will be activated at the appropriate time.

THE ECONOMIC REFORM COMMITTEE HAS A BIG ROLE TO PLAY IN SUPERVISING THE CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM WHICH HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT. IN PASSING THE LAW WHICH CREATED THE COMMITTEE, THE POLITBURO AND THE GOVERNMENT PRESIDIUM STATED THEIR INTENTION THAT THE COMMITTEE CARRY OUT A SYSTEMATIC APPRAISAL OF THE WAY THE REFORM'S FUNDAMENTALS ARE BEING IMPLEMENTED, AND TO TAKE CARE THAT THEY ARE IMPLEMENTED CORRECTLY. FOR THIS PURPOSE, WE OUGHT TO ESTABLISH A WORK PLAN FOR THE COMMITTEE AND ITS TEAMS, GENERAL JARUZELSKI CONCLUDED.

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES MILITARY COUNCIL 11 MARCH

AU171423 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Mar 82 pp 1-2

[Speech by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, at the 11 March Warsaw session of the Military Council of National Salvation]

[Text] The present meeting with representatives of committees for national salvation was useful. More than 6,000 such committees have already been formed. Thus they are developing rapidly. They constitute a new and vigorous public movement and are a patriotic response to the call: "The homeland is in need."

Our intention is that this meeting's decisions contribute toward the further progress on the path toward new forms of national accord. The country vitally needs such an accord. The emergence from the crisis depends to a great extent on whether we as a society find a common language in matters of fundamental importance for the state and the people.

This is not the first time that history has confronted us with the alternatives: to submerge ourselves in contemplation of the past, in sterile quarrels and controversies, or to direct our sights to the future, to find within ourselves sufficient strength, wisdom and realism to restore Poland to its honorable place in the socialist community, in Europe and in the world. The other peoples are carefully watching and assessing us, as well as drawing their own conclusions.

A national accord cannot be decreed. It cannot emerge from one single act, from an agreement or a meeting. It must be a deep process constituting social reality. It must grow from daily practices, from cooperation, from the common settlement of specific problems of life.

We have been confronted with great tasks. Their enormity requires from us what could be called a mass mobilization of the citizens. We do not want to erect structures only pompous in appearance, we do not want to take for granted the forms which you are applying now; that movement must be authentic, built from the grass roots. The essence of a national accord consists in the fact that it is and will be open to all those who sincerely strive to contribute to the common cause, to the development of socialist Poland. The Military Council of National Salvation warmly commends moves aimed at national integration, but does not impose or suggest any ready solutions. The shape and substance of that patriotic movement depend on yourselves, on the public.

The experience acquired in the committee's activity to date, however, shows that it would be advisable to generalize it, and in particular to select and to disseminate what is the best, what can be used as an example and a guidepost.

The national raison d'etat is only one. Whoever upholds the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and is for the party's leading role in society, he is with us, can be with us. The civil right to participate in the building of an accord must not be curtailed because of a differing ideology, differing opinions on specific issues, or because of errors committed in the past. A society of absolute unanimity does not exist anywhere in the world. The point is to find the broadest common platform on which the overwhelming majority of society could meet and reach an understanding. Only the enemies of socialism, the wreckers of order and calm and adherents of confrontation must remain out of it. There is such a platform. It is provided by the supreme interests of the socialist state, by our people's prosperity.

The public groups, emerging spontaneously, have been assuming the name of committees for national salvation. This was justified.

In step with normalization, they are now more frequently being referred to as committees for national rebirth. That trend is justified, too, because a Poland saved, in the longer run, is primarily a Poland reborn internally, freed from various threats and restraints, a Poland rationally using its reserves of social energies.

We also regard this frank and interesting discussion as a valuable form of public consultation. In my opinion, that consultative function of citizens' committees for national salvation should be fostered and disseminated. We will give the specific proposals voiced today an appropriate treatment. This is also the reason why, in my speech, I will not sum up the results of the discussion. It is life itself, social practice that sums up the results best.

I would only like to tackle one aspect, just a part of what we regard as national rebirth. What I have in mind are the so-called "basic virtues" exhorted for centuries by our most prominent thinkers and political authors.

The Poles are brave and deeply patriotic people, in need capable of making sacrifices, when the country is in danger. The chapters of our history provide much proof that we have also been able to organize our collective efforts in peace times.

But we also have many defects. We must yield to many other peoples in discipline, thrift, in habits of civilization, in law and order and the routine of daily lives.

After all, even today, in this period so difficult for our country, Poland could have been better organized, better arranged and simply more comfortable than it is. How many omissions, apparently insignificant, yet bothersome are there, how much egoism, bureaucratism and simple dishonesty and carelessness is there. No financial outlays are needed to fight evil, to overcome these adverse phenomena, and it is within our present powers to eliminate them.

From the very beginning the movement of national salvation has been shaping up as a kind of synthesis of civil aspirations and attitudes. It is turning into a platform for an accord in matters of fundamental importance for the people. The more valuable, thus, is the fact that your movement, in addition to fomenting and spreading the contemporary, socialist civil consciousness, keeps in its field of vision those onerous defects in our public life and spreads the slogan of rebirth and education through work.

Poland needs work, including that which a century ago was called organic [organiczna]. We can safely go back to that term. Our difficult history has given us too few changes to work at our grass roots. Too feeble is the awareness that Poland is just what our homestead, our block of apartments, settlement, school, enterprise or village are. The republic must be repaired everywhere, from the most insignificant cells and elements of social life. We must at last convey that truth into our daily lives.

The movement of national rebirth represents the most valuable reserve at our country's disposal: The reserve of civic leader-like [spolecznikowski] attitudes. Without them, even the most correct decision and even the most successful reform will not produce the desirable results.

Work at the grass roots may be interpreted in two ways. It may primarily be regarded as the sum of spontaneous initiatives and public acts arising from the needs of local communities, as the organization of steps taken to bring about favorable changes in the residential areas and places of work, to ease the lives of the citizens. In that respect, the achievements of the front of national unity are sizeable. They must not be wasted. Use must be made of good experience.

Your activity also has another important side. It can be termed as the self-educational side. What matters is that the movement of national rebirth, even in its present, not completely crystalized shape, binds the social fabric and irradiates on the whole local community or enterprise collective, that it be a center attracting active personalities, natural public figures, as well as -- and this would be particularly valuable -- socially sensitive young people, that it help people live, and at the same time that it implant into them the awareness of destinies shared by the individual with the socialist state.

The Military Council of National Salvation is the host at the present meeting. On its behalf I would like wholeheartedly to acknowledge and thank all committee figures for the support given to the Council and for their activity to date.

The Polish People's Army is the essence of the whole nation. Its soldiers come from all walks of life, trades and regions. The second and even the third generation of Poles are serving under the banners of our regiments. We are deeply linked with the traditions of the Polish armed effort, with patriotism and with its progressive origins. The present situation burdens the armed forces with particular obligations. They are trying to carry them out creditably, for the benefit of the republic.

The well known processes and circumstances have forced us to take emergency steps. But we constantly keep the further prospects in our field of vision. What the soldier wants is a socialist, strong and safe Poland built on an accord among all patriotic forces, a Poland in which one is glad to live and work.

Allow me, citizens, on behalf of the party and government leadership and on behalf of the armed forces to convey you the heartfelt wishes for success in the noble and necessary work. May your activity bear fruit for the homeland.

JOURNALISTS ASK JARUZELSKI FOR NEW ASSOCIATION

LD180018 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] Ever-wider circles in the press are being affected by the discussion on the tasks or character of the journalists' organization. In successive statements, editorial groups are submitting proposals concerning the working out of a new professional and creative model of the journalists' movement.

A group of journalists from TRYBUNA LUDU have addressed a letter to Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] which says:

The difficult situation in which our country has found itself concerns every honest thinking citizen, everyone to whom the destiny of the socialist homeland is dear.

We, the journalists of TRYBUNA LUDU, in accordance with our obligations as journalists of the organ of party Central Committee, have endeavored [word indistinct] to implement the line of the PZPR in its struggle for the socialist character of renewal, opposing the organized actions of the opponents of socialism in the country and abroad.

Our everyday work is guided by faith in the correctness of the decisions undertaken by the WRON, in the success of the work of socialist renewal, in the need to consistently implement the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress, endorsed by the February Central Committee and finding expression in the work of the Sejm and the government.

Among the authorities of the Association of Polish Journalists after its last extraordinary congress, people were found who put their own ambitions above the social interest. They often heeded the political opposition. These actions by the authorities of the association consequently led to the correct decision, undertaken in the period of martial law, to suspend its activity.

However, we adopt the stance that the journalists' milieux, in order for it to be able to act in support of the party in building the line of accord, particularly in today's conditions of acute political and ideological struggle, should have the possibility to form a professional association.

Therefore we appeal to the comrade general with the request that the WRON consider the possibility of creating a new journalists organization which, referring to the best traditions of progressive Polish journalism, would stand consistently on a position of the socialist development of our country, satisfying the needs of our milieux and the expectations of the community.

A similar letter was sent to Wojciech Jaruzelski by journalists of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA.

DAILY QUESTIONS DISBANDING OF 'COMMUNIST FORUMS'

LD180938 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 18 Mar 82

[Text] "Party men by half" is the title of Ryszard Naleszkiewicz's article in SZTANDAR MLODYCH in which the author provides an answer to a question that is still being asked by many today. The question is: In the most difficult moments for the party, the most reliable and devoted people, those who are resolved to fight for Marxist-Leninist principles, became united. Why have they been penalized at the Seventh Central Committee Plenum? Why were orders given for any and all communists' forums to be disbanded? Why have they been accused of pursuing their own, narrow interests?

According to the author, during the period when the mass of members was searching for reasons why their party was weak and why the crises recurred in such disastrous ways, two attitudes, generally speaking, came to the fore. The first was dominated by the PZPR's desire to reach agreement with the majority of dissatisfied workers and their union, Solidarity. Here the arguments about the activities of the opposition, anti-socialist forces, about hostile manipulations, were not accepted. The indignation was almost exclusively directed against the top echelons, against the leadership of the Central Committee, of voivodship committees, against the apparatus. Therefore, the idea of horizontal structures was born of the crisis of confidence.

The second attitude took shape because of similar motives but those who represent it, while recognizing the mistakes of the previous period, believed it was possible to put them right by resolute action from above, on the part of the leadership. Just as in the previous case, the communists' forums directed their activities almost exclusively against the leadership, [word indistinct] almost every plenum of the Central Committee.

As a result, horizontal structures and the forums alike were disbanded. Why? A direct answer is simple. The statute went overboard. After all, observance of principles of democratic centralism and of party discipline, by which only parties of Marxist-Leninist type are characterized, constitutes the fundamental condition of activities within the ranks of the PZPR.

If the need to adhere to a given ideology is recognized, the structures which historically took shape as a result of this ideology must be recognized as well. One can not be a party man by half, writes Ryszard Naleszkiewicz in SZTANDAR MLODYCH.

GENERAL KISZCZAK VIEWS MARTIAL LAW, SECURITY

AU171333 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12 Mar 82 p 3

[Speech by Gen Div Czeslaw Kiszczak, PZPR Politburo candidate member and minister of internal affairs, at the 11 March Warsaw session of the Military Council of National Salvation]

[Text] Martial law has been in force for almost 3 months. Everyone knows the reasons for martial law, which were given by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski in his December speech and his subsequent speeches and which were extensively publicized by the mass media, by community discussions and other methods.

That is why I would not like to discuss the past at this meeting, and what I will do will be to present to you the main features of the country's present sociopolitical situation and the accompanying trends.

As we all agree, that situation is gradually returning to normal. Collective protest actions have ceased, the industry is performing normally as much as possible, and the militia data as well as the views of large sections of our society indicated that law and order and public security have tangibly improved.

That is attested to by the following data: During the period of martial law crimes have decreased 34 percent compared with the same period last year, but compared with the period immediately preceding martial law, this decrease amounts to as much as 71 percent. Better conditions have also been created for combating and preventing economic crimes and speculation.

The data on fatalities is even more impressive. Whereas in December 1980 and January and February 1981 some 1,525 people lost their lives through homicide and fatal accidents, between 13 December 1981 and 1 March 1982 some 467 people lost their lives by the same causes. This means that the number of fatalities in the past 3 months decreased by 1,058 people compared with the identical period a year ago. This data is so obvious that no extensive commentary on it is necessary.

Every citizen will have noticed these new features, which are an important additional argument to justify martial law, because it has effectively countered the violently increasing dangers to Poland in the past period.

Martial law has imposed certain curbs and hardships on all citizens, including those who represent patriotic attitudes. As the domestic situation becomes normal, these curbs and hardship are assuaged in the first place. The appropriate decisions already made in this connection -- they include the 1 March decision to allow a free movement of people throughout the country without special permits and intercity telephone communications -- concern many crucial aspects of our life.

We will continue to make such decisions as the sociopolitical situation regains its stability, but those who would like to regard this as concessions in favor of our political foes or as a result of outside pressure are wrong. Such decisions are an expression of our state's strength and an illustration of the fact that more and more people correctly interpret the country's vital interests.

The easing of the martial law hardships can also be seen in the situation of the internees. Although we have many times published detailed data on the number of the internees and on the conditions of their internment, fantastic rumors cooked up by the so-called well-informed people in Poland and those in the Western radio stations are still circulating.

On 10 March 3,204 out of 6,805 internees were released, which means that 3,601 persons are still interned. It is worth recalling that the internees were primarily members of illegal organizations and Solidarity extremists. The cases in which genuine workers were interned are few. Some 230 representatives of free professions were also interned.

The internees include 280 individual farmers who were the most aggressive representatives of the Rural Solidarity. Most of the interned students (about 180) were members of the independent union of students whose activity greatly exceeded the brief of a student organization. On the other hand, most of the Solidarity activists who had engaged in non-statutory activities were warned in individual interviews (some 25,000 such interviews have been carried out so far). In most cases such interviews have convinced the interviewees of the incompatibility of their own interests as workers and citizens with the interests of members of antisocialist organizations and of Solidarity extremists. The interviews have helped many of the interviewees to return to their previous jobs and normal life.

This is the truth about the internees and the conditions of their internment. I would like to stress here most strongly that many internees continue to be our outright political foes, who openly demonstate anticommunism and the resolve to struggle for the overthrow of the socialist system and who aggressively declare that they will consciously violate the norms of the laws in force. Motivated by social interests we are unable at present to release such people from internment.

We are unable to do that because -- as life demonstrates for us daily -- these people and the antisocialist forces, which they represent, have not given up their aims and continue in various ways to promote actions against the constitutional foundations of our state and against public peace and order.

Some Solidarity extremists -- especially the so-called second groups of the solidarity local and factory authorities -- try to set up camouflaged structures and to continue illegal organizational and propaganda activities, thus violating martial law. Some persons from the Workers Self-Defense Committee KOR, the Confederation for Independent Poland, the so-called Committee for Defense of the Prisoners of Conscience and the former Independent Union of Students are engaging in similar activities, which undermine the country's order and security.

Hostile propaganda in the form of handouts, leaflets, hoarding and illegal publications attacking martial law, the decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation, the party, the Soviet Union and those who have assumed the correct civic attitude continues.

We register all such manifestation because they violate the legal order in force, undermine the process of normalizing and stabilizing the country's situation and appeal for various harmful and hostile activities. That is why we are waging resolute struggle against them.

Although they are very few, the acts of sabotage in the form of destruction of machines and installations are very harmful from the political and economic viewpoint. As explanatory proceedings demonstrate, in such cases the culprits are most often inspired by the propaganda of the anticommunist and anti-Polish centers.

However, efforts to exploit young people, often under age, for hostile, antistate and even terrorist activity must give rise to special concern. The incident connected with the arrest of those who killed Militia Sergeant Zdzislaw Karos and with the liquidation of an illegal criminal group composed of young people -- even very young people -- is especially tragic in its significance. The evidence so far shows that these young people set up an illegal youth organization called "Underground Poland's Armed Forces." The aim of those young people was to obtain weapons, commit acts of terror and -- in the future -- to murder marked persons. They also produced and circulated hostile leaflets.

Sergeant Karos was killed not because they had any grudge against him, but because he was a militiaman and did not obey their order to surrender his weapon. I stress this fact because many fantastic rumors have been created in connection with this case.

All these manifestations stress most glaringly the issue of the responsibility of parent, educators -- mainly teachers -- and older people generally for the young people's attitudes and activity. How often the elders lack the common civic solicitude for the young people and how often we see that various politicoes are devoid of any scruples when they want to exploit the young people's ignorance, political naivete and wish to go through "striking experience" for criminal purposes. Society must resolutely oppose such manifestations.

PRAGUE PRACE INTERVIEWS PZPR'S ALBIN SIWAK

AU161900 Prague PRACE in Czech 13 Mar 82 p 1

[Interview given to Marie Sulkova-Zitkova by Albin Siwak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member: "About Poland Today and Tomorrow," date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Let us start by looking at the legacy left by "Solidarity." What damage did it cause?

[Answer] Above all exhausting strikes, the formulation of financial demands, constant pressure on raising wages. This led the economy to a situation which today forces us to make greater efforts to renew its activity. Had "Solidarity's" pressure continued for some time, the people would have had nothing to eat or to wear. By this I also want to say that the government's resolute step has prevented a catastrophe.

[Question] What kind of situation had "Solidarity" evoked, for instance in the mines?

[Answer] In some shafts mining activities were stopped. General coal extraction dropped. This was also reflected in the partial stoppage of housing construction. Let us look at the mines. Only 5 of the 91 blast furnaces were working! Is that not proof of economic ruin, of the ruin of industry?

I will also recall the relatively well-known, several-hour strike of farmers in the Zelena Gora region. They started their protest in the middle of the sugar campaign. The striking farmers went to buy their sugar in the shops, but they let the sugar beet lie under the snow and freeze in the fields. In my view this is one of the most shocking instances of irresponsibility; I need not look for any other.

If I sum all this up, then we can, we must, say that the country's economy was being led to the verge of an abyss, and every further step would have meant tumbling down.

Apart from these noticeable damages there was the enormous destruction of the people's trust. Surely it is known that at the beginning the workers and other working people approached "Solidarity" with sincerity. They thought that it would be a trade union organization. It is only gradually that their eyes began to open.

And now, just imagine their situation. They realized that they had been duped; they found it hard to acknowledge this even to themselves -- and even harder and more painful to look their colleagues or acquaintances in the eye. Particularly the eyes of those who had remained loyal to the PZPR and had not joined "Solidarity," while they themselves had "fought" among its ranks. That means that there are also great losses in the psychological sphere. Today a great effort is needed to renew the trust of people disappointed in this manner -- to win them over for our plans and for real socialism.

"Solidarity's" negative legacy is extensive; I could mention hundreds of examples.

[Question] Let us take some other sector. What is this "legacy" like in the building industry?

[Answer] There, too, the consequences are shocking. Cement has stopped being produced. And when there is no cement, one does not build. If, previously, the extent of construction was small, it has now gradually stopped completely. But we hope that we will be capable of changing this, provided the party, as well as the Sejm and the enterprises, and in the future also the trade unions, will concern themselves with the young people's problems. Even now, because coal extraction has increased, all the cement works are operating and cement is being delivered to the construction sites; work has started moving.

We have large reserves in the construction system and in the legal regulations themselves. With our system we are using up too much cement and steel for construction. In housing construction we want to relinquish such methods. We are also thinking of supporting the construction of family homes, both in cities and in rural areas. The people would invest their own money, their own work. It is probable that these questions will be dealt with at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The eighth plenum will deal with economic matters. We want to meet the people halfway, by granting loans for family homes; we want to put small brick kilns, small quarries, gravel pits and so on into operation. We must make it possible for people to acquire building lots; this is a relatively complicated matter. Some speculators have invested money in building lots and so we need a legislative amendment which would make it possible to buy them out of such lots at adequate prices, and to distribute the lots primarily among young families who want to build.

You see, we have more than enough problems. We want to win the public over for an active attitude toward the state, to get rid of the usual opinion that if we have socialism, then let it take care of me, let it give me an apartment. This is the same as if a person went up to a bar and said: We have socialism, so give me beer! Naturally this leads nowhere; the people must start working themselves.

[Question] This brings us to another sphere, to questions of working morale and responsibility.

[Answer] There is a rather large number of men who avoid work. The question of how to integrate them belongs in the sphere of the Sejm's legislative activities. Let us look at "Solidarity's" legacy. Its apparatus included 40,000 paid workers; the average salary was Z17,000 a month. That is 100 percent more than the average in the Branch Trade Unions. Apart from its own apparatus, "Solidarity" also paid several thousand other functionaries. (Formerly, in the past, the trade unions had a total of 12,500 paid workers.) Thousands of people learned how to talk [politikarit] politics, instead of doing honest work, and now we have to win them over to work. Under the conditions of the state of emergency, we have certain possibilities and levers for this, but after it is canceled this problem can come up again. It is certainly worth thinking about adopting some law in this direction.

[Question] A deep differentiation process is taking place in the economic, political and, after all, also in the people's personal lives in your country. Your words confirm this. What role did the events in the Ziemowit mine play in this respect?

[Answer] The Ziemowit mine especially proves how many things we must change in the people's way of thinking. There 1,500 people were being blackmailed by several dozen "Solidarity" members, who claimed that a war was raging on the surface, that people were fired on and killed, that the people on the streets were being drenched with freezing water, that they were being held in sports stadiums -- briefly, they deceived the miners underground in the worst possible way. In this way they prevented them from coming to the surface for many days. Some of them collapsed and wanted to go home. These miners they stripped naked, spit on them, and claimed that behind the gates the police would handcuff them and take them to prison. Some miners succeeded in fleeing through the ventilation vents, but they were unable to call back their comrades to tell them: Come up to the surface, nobody will imprison you, because only one telephone was working underground, all other lines had been broken off and the patrol did not let the miners go to the telephone. That is why the miners were convinced that something dreadful was happening on the surface and that they could keep alive only underground, because somebody from abroad would influence Poland. In the end the people leaving the mine had a complete mental breakdown. They were shocking proof of "Solidarity's" terror. The government issued instructions to grant these people absolute peace and quiet, no interviews or television at all; the government said: Go have a bath, have a good sleep, put yourselves together. This is the kind of terror that was reigning at that time in the mine -- terror, pure and simple.

[Question] About a year ago a certain worker from a certain Lwarsaw plant spoke against "Solidarity" on the pages of our daily PRACE, later we were told that he was beaten up and had to go to the hospital for 2 weeks.

[Answer] In those difficult times only "Solidarity" was considered to have a monopoly on wisdom; it alone was right and those who opposed it had to pay for it. I have heard of many such instances, but perhaps the most telling is the Krosno event, known throughout Europe. The local chairman of the Branch Trade Unions added to the poster claiming "with Solidarity to the truth." The question: "Is that so?" He was immediately thrown out of his job. On the other hand, it is known that at that time "Solidarity" was writing hostile slogans against the party, against the government, against party and government officials -- slogans that were grossly offensive. And it was impossible to publish it; only it itself was capable of doing this. It was impossible to say a word against "Solidarity."

Let us look at its own congress. The Lublin delegate started speaking of the "Solidarity" functionaries' incomes. He was denied the right to speak. Today the people are talking about such instances in public and out loud, but at that time they could only whisper about it to each other; they were simply afraid.

[Question] In which strata of the population are the PZPR and the government finding the greatest support for their endeavors?

[Answer] I think that all strata of the population are beginning to grasp that it is only through our own work that we can raise ourselves from the economic rock bottom. But the workers class has always been the most interested in this. And not only under the conditions of 1981 and of today, but even before. The workers class has always known that only work will enable it to lead a better life. By this I mean the workers of large enterprises, the large workers' organizations with many members. At their meetings people are saying in a businesslike way that nobody will have us hanging on his neck, that we cannot keep holding out our hand, even though we are getting assistance from the socialist countries. A nation as great as the Poles must climb to the level of its neighbors, and even try to live better. We have various raw materials, we have factories and a large industrial potential. We have opened up many new mines, introduced new industrial branches, and we are building ships. Apart from the mistakes of, I would say, a group of people in management functions, we have also had permanent successes. And in all spheres the workers class is interested most in "getting to the surface," as we say.

[Question] How did the Polish public receive the American Government's decision on sanctions against Poland?

[Answer] There can be only one stand in this matter. Both Radio Free Europe and the Western press say that Reagan's sanctions are aimed at Jaruzelski, at the government. This is not true, they are aimed against the entire nation. The halt to corn deliveries leads to the death of millions of poultry, and it is quite clear that this does not concern only the party or government. The poultry was needed to feed the nation; therefore, the sanctions were felt by all Poles. They affected the workers class and the intelligentsia the most -- simply every person who cooks, eats, or is fed every day. That is why U.S. sanctions are being received with great displeasure [nelibost].

The very opposite of the American attitude is the Soviet Union's assistance. The main issue is crude oil -- its shortage halts all transporation, it deadens this nerve of all branches. To say nothing of the industrial branches built on the basis of crude assistance is great, during Comrade Jaruzelski's latest visit to Moscow there were discussions about its forms, extent and deadline. And this is the main thing because a friend in need is a friend indeed.

KUBIAK CHAIRS SCIENTIFIC POLICY CONFERENCE

LD171348 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] A national conference of representatives of scientific and technological communities, devoted to the role and tasks of science in the emergence of the country from the economic crisis, began in Warsaw today. Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, is in the chair.

One of the main aims of the conference is to discuss what concrete help industry and science can offer each other and to define which areas of the economy science should and can help as quickly as possible.

Taking the floor during the conference, Zenon Miskiewicz, minister of science, higher education and technology, outlined the stat'e scientific policy in the conditions of economic reform. He emphasized that currently only one in three or one in four scientific research dissertations have practical applicability. He also outlined the concept of an information (?and) data collecting system to give the correct direction to research and development work.

GRZYB CHAIRS ENVIRONMENTAL COMMISSION SESSION

LD171344 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] An assessment of a report on the natural environment and proposals for improving it are the subject of a session of the PZPR Central Committee Commission for protection of the Population's Health and of the Environment. The session is chaired by Zofia Grzyb, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo.

It transpires from the report presented at the session that the quality of the natural environment in Poland has been constantly deteriorating in the past few years. In some regions of the country the situation is so serious that it is possible to speak of an approaching ecological disaster. Hence, actions undertaken must first halt the progressive degradation of the environment and then bring about a gradual improvement in its quality and a restoration of ecological balance.

Environmental Study Urged

LD172204 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Excerpts] An assessment of the report on the state of the environment was the subject of today's session of the PZPR Central Committee Commission on the Protection of the Population's Health and the Environment. The session was chaired by Zofie Grzyb, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo.

Taking the floor at the end of the debates, Zofia Grzyb stated that an action program in the area of environmental protection must be formed, in which detailed tasks would be defined. Environmental problems should become the subject of Politburo debates as well as the subject of one of the plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

MIELNICKI ADDRESSES USSR TRADE UNIONS CONGRESS

For Soviet media coverage of the activities of the Polish delegation at the 17th congress of Soviet trade unions taking place in the Kremlin, including an account of the address given by Eugeniusz Mielnicki at the congress on 18 March, see the Political & Social Developments section of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for 18 March, and subsequent issues.

REPORTAGE ON PZPR LEADERSHIP ACTIVITIES

Barcikowski Meets Railwaymen

LD172112 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met today with the party aktiv of the railway junction Krakow - Plaszow - Prokocim railroad junction.

During the several hours of discussion it was stressed that the full rebirth of the party and the everyday practical implementation of the resolutions of the ninth extraordinary congress and the seventh plenum depend above all on the activeness of the primary party organizations and on their direct work with people. However, the building of lasting prestige among the work forces must be supported by thorough work in resolving the current difficult economic tasks. It is essential to raise the status of the profession of railwaymen. The personnel difficulties of the railroads are considerable. Party and youth organizations have an enormous role to fulfill here. Much was said of the need to gradually improve the difficult work conditions of the technological and social backup personnel, for the present state of the railroads does not encourage young people to work in this profession, and the economic reform confronts railroad transportation with important tasks.

During his meeting with Krakow railwayment Kazimierz Barcikowski visited the Krakow-Prokocim locomotive shed, familiarizing himself with the work conditions and state of the social back-up of the work forces employed there.

Orzechowski Joins Lecturers

LD172104 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] The tasks of party echelons and organizations emanating from the Politburo report and the resolution of the seventh party Central committee plenum are the subject of meetings of primary party organizations, meetings of party aktivs of various milieux, exchanges of views with aprticipation of those who took part in the plenum and members of the party's central echelons. The all-party discussion centers on the draft of the ideological program declaration entitled "What we are Fighting for, Where we are Headed."

Today's conference of Central Committee lecturers in which party Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski, participated, was devoted precisely to a discussion on the draft of this declaration. The Central Committee secretary pointed out at the outset that this discussion must be accompanied by recognition of the shortcomings which weaken the party, as well as those experiences which protected it from a breakdown in the period preceding 13 December. The concept of drawing up a party ideological document was born immediately after the introduction of martial law and was dictated by the new political situation, the necessity to relate its background to the resolutions of the ninth extraordinary congress, and to give a reply to the general question which was perturbing society -- what now?

The draft declaration decidedly confirms the permanence of the line of the ninth congress. Its principles are not changed by the experiences of the post-congress period, but they should be considered in the party program. The significance of the declaration is enhanced by the fact that the documents of the ninth congress did not reach society or even the party itself to the proper extent, as they were immediately torpedoed by opponents of socialism.

The Central Committee, which is presenting this draft document for all-party discussion, Marian Orzechowski said, is interested primarily that this should be a sincere, uncompromising, sharp exchange of views, opinions and appraisals, as only then will the party be able to recognize the final text of the declaration as an expression of its own efforts.

In the final part of the conference Marian Orzechowski answered numerous questions from the lecturers concerning both the essence and the form of the draft.

Mokrzyszczak Visits Steelplant

LD172308 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] The Czestochowa Boleslaw Bierut steelplant was visited today by party Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczk.

During a meeting with the executive of the plant's PZPR organization, party tasks in the current economic and socio-political situation were discussed, as was the role of the party organization in the implementation of this year's difficult production tasks at the plant.

Siwak Meets Suwalk Farmers

LD172304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] In Wydminy, Suwalki Voivodship, Albin Siwak, member of the Central Committee Politburo, has met private farmers and representatives of socialized farms and production cooperatives from that parish and neighboring parishes, and also construction workers from Gizycko. It was pointed out that the future of the country will be as we ourselves make it, which is why serious and productive work are essential in each work place.

Czechowicz Visits Lodz

LD172320 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] A meeting of the primary party organizations of three departments took place today at the Lodz "Polmerino" works. It was attended by Tadeusz Czechowicz, Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR voivodship party, who belongs to the combing mill department.

One of the main trends of the debates was the problem of the trade unions. The participants presented diverse views. The overwhelming majority came out in favor of unions which ought to serve the working people in the best possible way.

Referring to issues raised in the discussion, Tadeusz Czechowicz dwelt for some time on the subject of trade unions, stating that the party needs a self-managing, independent union movement which will defend workers' interests. He also broadly discussed problems concerning the younger generation, announcing that the next plenum of the Lodz committee, as well as a party Central Committee plenum, will be devoted to youth issues.

Wozniak Attends Konin Plenum

LD180008 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2210 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Excerpts] A great debate is in progress within the party, focussed on the ideological and programmatic declaration "What Are We Fighting for, Where Are We Going?"

A party voivodship committee plenum on this subject was held in Konin, attended by Marian Wozniak.

FACTORY PZPR COMMITTEES DISCUSS TU MOVEMENT

LD172150 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] In the socialist system the trade union movement is an integral and indispensable element of the system of power. The more complicated the socio-economic problems which have to be solved are the greater is the need for strong trade unions which express their own views but which nevertheless defend the principles of the political system which best guarantees the defense of the interests of the working class. The general social discussion, which is picking up momentum, on the future of the trade union movement will determine what the final shape of this movement will be.

At the Batory steelworks in Chorzow, members of the works party organization are taking an active part in meetings and discussions on the subject of the future model of the trade union movement. It emerges from the majority of the statements that are being made that the principle of a trade union not undertaking activities of a political nature is being recognized. The matter of the structure of the future unions is giving rise to many controversies. Opinions are divided. Is this to be a branch structure or a territorial structure?

At factories in the Silesian basin, the predominant view is the one which states that the revived unions should be fully independent, self-contained and apolitical. The superior aim of the future miners' trade union should be the defense of workers' rights and concern for working conditions. The view that it is necessary to retrain the right to strike is predominant. However, a strike should be declared only if there is a particularly serious conflict with the employer and after all other ways of resolving the dispute have been exhausted.

A PAP correspondent reports that in Torun a voivodship consultative team for trade union matters has been set up. The team consists of a dozen or so activists from all suspended central organizations and unions. The team collects the opinions and remarks of working people on the subject of the future of the trade union movement.

The main goal of the trade union movement, it was stated during a session of the executive of the works PZPR committee in the railroad transloading area in Malaszewicze, should be concern for the welfare of workers. The need to quickly publish a draft statute on trade unions in such a way that it can be discussed in factories was emphasized during the discussion. The future statute must define in detail when a strike is of a political nature. The need for openness in the work and activities of trade unions and for informing all members of an organization about this work and activities was also stressed during the discussion.

GDANSK NEWSPAPER ON RESIGNATIONS FROM PZPR

PM171055 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 8 Mar 82 p 3

[Bartlomiej Jakubczak article: "Talking About the Party -- Why Do They Leave?"]

[Text] The phenomenon of resignation from the party is nothing new. However, in the PZPR's history, resignation from party ranks has usually been tantamount to concealed, internal emigration.

In practice it is possible to distinguish between two main forms of resignation from the party: in activity as a result of which Primary Party Organization [POP] may decide to remove the name of the party members involved from their register for nonattendance at meetings and failure to pay contributions, as well as for failure to apply to another POP for membership after resigning from an original one following a change in the place of work of the person concerned. In the latter case it is a higher party organization that may decide to remove the person involved from the party list. But in some specific situations we have to contend with the phenomenon of the more or less ostentatious surrender of membership cards.

During the period between the August 1980 events and the present we have observed an increase in the number of resignations from the party. As far as some of those who handed in their party membership cards are concerned, the new situation merely created an opportunity for them to sever ties with the party which were anyway only formal. Nonetheless a huge majority of people leaving the party used to actively participate in party life, and for those people resignation from the party was no mere formality even though various reasons for their decision were advanced.

It must be clearly stated, however, that what has been mentioned most frequently was loss of confidence in party policy and disappointment with the party. The party was accused of either conservatism or excessive liberalism, as well as of hindering democratic transformations, or of excessive tolerance of antiparty or antistate activities. Some people gave up their membership cards silently and regretfully, whereas others sought to ensure for themselves the biggest audience possible -- as in a theater -- and create the biggest possible impact.

Some comrades believe that the party's weakness is the result of the way in which admission to the party was planned or, if you like, programmed in the past. This planning is now bitterly criticized, but if you listen to discussions on the subject on POP forums you will gain the impression that the best people were admitted to the party. It was stated at nearly all POP meetings in which I participated that every candidate who was accepted in the past 3-4 years would also be accepted now. This means that the real causes of a large number of expulsions should not be seen only in programming.

To assess the causes of resignations from the party it is not enough merely to analyze resignation letters. The original causes of this phenomenon should be sought in the reasons cited for joining the party. If we find the answer to the question: "On what grounds were decisions made to join the party?" We will by the same token find the answer to the question: "Why have so many people resigned from the party recently?"

The classification of the reasons for people joining the party demands a thorough analysis and painstaking research. At this point I would like to merely draw the reader's attention to the phenomena which, in my opinion, are bound sooner or later to lead to a situation whereby party members will resign from party ranks:

1. Joining the party to further one's career or seek privileges. In a great majority of cases, such motives can be ascribed to office workers rather than to workers directly employed in the production sector, even though some of the latter decided to join the party because they hoped that they "might obtain an apartment sooner" as a result. However, most of these people hoped for easier promotion. Lack of promotion led to the people concerned becoming "offended" with the party, and the absence of self-criticism occasionally led to great disappointment and to the belief that they were being mistreated by the party, destroyed by the system and so forth.

The party's cadre policy in the past and the so-called nomenklatura were in fact conducive to people joining the party to further their career. This led to a number of misunderstandings and even grotesque situations -- a stutterer who was not given the job of radio announcer felt sure that this was because he was not...a party member.

In recent months people who had joined the party to further their career resigned from it when it became clear that party membership was frowned upon by Solidarity. Many examples could be mentioned in support of this thesis. Both people who ran for posts in Solidarity and people who wished to become [enterprise] directors and expected that Solidarity would have the final word resigned from the party.

In fact, these were deplorable reasons, and I believe that no one will ever be able to trust people who adopted such an attitude. However, under normal conditions it is difficult to see through such cases, even though the party must resolve the problem unequivocally. Vocational promotion should be exclusively a result of the qualifications and skills possessed and does not have to be linked with political activeness. The economic cadre should primarily be assessed by means of economic mechanisms. Obviously, however, leading positions in the socialist state can be held only by people who accept such a state and whose activities do not harm it. The higher the position, the more obvious and active such acceptance must be.

2. Joining the party because of a specific individual -- leader -- and the official program supported by him. How many comrades joined the party because Gomulka and, later, Bierek had such a good, generally accepted program? When the man involved left the stage or, what was even worse, when it became clear that that man's deeds were inconsistent with his works, people became disillusioned and bitter and, as a result, left the party.

3. Joining the party as a result of pressure by other people. Whenever a POP first secretary urged someone to join the party (in view of the "admission plan" or for some other reason) -- or it may have been the manager or some other superior -- few people were able to refuse even though they were not keen on the idea. Furthermore, as far as those who supported anyone's application for party membership were concerned, it was sufficient for the candidate to be a good and honest worker, and so they turned a blind eye to any other statutory requirements, and the question of the candidate's world outlook was seldom raised. In this situation the act of accepting people as candidates was usually of a merely formal nature. The role played by the people who supported applications was also formal and boiled down to writing positive assessments of the candidates.

Once the atmosphere relating to party membership changed and pressure by the community induced people (sometimes in an aggressive manner) to leave the party, people began to return their membership cards.

4. Joining the party because the party ruled the country effectively, Poland was becoming stronger and the people's living standard was improving. In this case any change in the economic situation led to voluntary resignations from the party.

In this classification I have deliberately left out the people who both joined the party and resigned from it for ideological reasons. I believe that there have been a few such cases. To find out whether I am right in my assumption it will merely be necessary to ask the people concerned how many and what books relating to the party, socialism and Marxism they have read recently. Maybe this is an oversimplification, but after all something should be expected from people who proclaim that their decision to resign from the party has been preceded by a profound mental process. The proclamation and, frequently, the parading of the assertion that the decision to resign from the party has been made on ideological grounds has often been governed by the desire to conceal even from oneself the real reasons for the step taken. For the reasons involved have not always been creditable.

Obviously, the reasons for anyone's joining the party are his own business, and it is difficult to assess them. I have only mentioned those which, in my opinion, guided most of the people who have [subsequently] relinquished their membership cards since August 1980.

I believe that to be able to unite the party again it is necessary to verify the party ranks in depth. By verification I mean one's own ideological experience, one's own so-called self-examination. Only those people who joined the party for ideological reasons, only those people to whom party membership means service should remain party members. Service to an idea and to the community. If you joined the party for its ideology and in order to implement both this and the action program stemming from it, you will not leave it because of lack of promotion, any disappointment caused by the leadership, an economic crisis or even a stern assessment of the party and its members by the circles within which you conduct your activities. After all, the ideology for which you joined the party remains.

Of course, it is sometimes difficult to be a party member and to defend its ideology but, after all, people who join the party are adults who are aware of the laws of life. In the final analysis the truth about ideology, socialism and the party is more significant and more important than either legend, gossip or slander. And only people of little faith are likely to despair even if the party may occasionally be sick or, as some people will have it, "at sea." So maybe for this very reason it is necessary to unite and rally the party, interrupt that "sick leave" and simply engage in energetic activities.

And, finally, one more thought. Even though this may sound like indulging in fiction, I believe that the party must clearly determine right now whom it will accept as party members. In many party organizations the atmosphere is conducive to accepting anyone who wants to join the PZPR. This must be prevented by defining high ideological requirements with respect to all those who intend to join the party. This, among other things, will determine the party's future.

SENTENCES GIVEN FOR MARTIAL LAW VIOLATIONS

AU161614 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 10 Mar 82 p 5

["SF" report: "Communique from the Chief Military Prosecutors Office"]

[Excerpts] The press spokesman of the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office has informed our editorial staff that the military prosecutors and other people are playing an active role in the continuing struggle to strengthen the socialist state. For strict observance of the law, security, public order and discipline directly serve the interests of the entire community as well as those of the state. Only in this way is it possible to ensure the state's strength and the well-being of its citizens.

Last week, a further 46 proceedings against 76 civilians were commenced in military prosecutor's offices under summary jurisdiction. Almost all of these people have also been arrested. Cases against over 70 persons were referred to the military courts for examination. At the same time, during the same period, 30 cases were tried and the military courts sentenced 57 persons, dismissed the cases against 4 persons and acquitted 3 others.

Taking care that the statements made in court were in accordance with the rules, the military prosecutors reviewed the sentences of eight persons. As a result of earlier reviews by the military prosecutors last week, a higher court imposed higher sentences on five persons who had been sentenced earlier. Among the new cases were proceedings against the following persons.

Henryk Maslowski, a fitter at the "Mera-Elwro" plant in Wroclaw, was suspected of preparing writings with contents that defame and debase the executive bodies of the Polish People's Republic, and he transported these writings with a view to distributing them as well as other leaflets containing false information likely to cause public unrest;

Edward Antonczyk, living in an internment camp, prepared writings containing false information likely to cause public unrest and gave these writings to other persons so they could distribute them;

Adam Pawlus, a legal clerk for the voivodship agricultural cooperative union "Sampopomoc Chlopska" in Krosno and former chairman of the Solidarity factory committee at a trade enterprise in Jaslo, was suspected of preparing leaflets with antistate contents in order to distribute them. These leaflets called on people to be insubordinate toward the state authorities during martial law;

Zygmunt Brodzik, an employee at a local enterprise in Siedlce, was suspected of gathering and hiding explosives and explosive devices in his apartment which could have caused general danger to people's lives and property.

During the above-mentioned period, the military courts sentenced the following persons among others:

Boleslaw Eugeniusz Jewulski, a priest in the parish of the Roman Catholic Church in Polcyna-Zdroj, was sentenced by the Pomeranian Military District Court to deprivation of freedom for 3 years and 6 months and loss of civic rights for 4 years for publicly insulting and deriding the system and executive authorities of the Polish People's Republic during a sermon and for spreading false information about the political situation in the country and for calling on people to offer resistance to the activities of the state authorities;

Andrzej Mielczanowski, a legal adviser of Solidarity's Western Pomeranian chapter administration, was sentenced to deprivation of freedom for 5 years and loss of civic rights for 3 years; Mieczyslaw Ustasiak, deputy chairman of the above administration, was sentenced to deprivation of freedom for 4 years and loss of civic rights for 3 years; Tadeusz Lichota was sentenced to deprivation of freedom for 3 years and 6 months and loss of civic rights for 3 years; and Stefan Niewiadomski and Witold Karolewski -- after the court had waived summary jurisdiction -- were each sentenced to deprivation of freedom for 1 year and 6 months. All of these persons were sentenced for leading the strike at the Warski shipyard in Szczecin and at other work enterprises in the Szczecin Voivodship, acting jointly and in agreement. This sentence was also passed by the Pomeranian Military District Court.

Military prosecutors have also carried out intensive preventive activity among various groups of people, giving talks and information about martial law regulations. Preventive and warning talks and other preventive activities have also been carried out with some people.

BARCIKOWSKI NOTES DROP IN RAILROAD PRODUCTIVITY

LD172356 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Correspondent (Filip Raczkowski) report from Krakow]

[Text] PZPR Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski visited Krakow today. This morning he met the work force at the Prokocim locomotive shed and had a long talk with the Polish State Railroads party aktiv of the Krakow-Plaszow-Prokocim junction. The meeting was attended by Krystyn Dabrowa, first secretary of the Krakow party committee; Maj Gen (Leon Sulima), plenipotentiary of the national defense committee; and Jozef Gajewicz, mayor of Krakow. What was discussed? Primarily matters pertaining to the railroads and Krakow, investments and everyday matters. At times I had the impression that the railwaymen, both those from the rank-and-file and also those from higher levels, were quite simply sharing their greatest difficulties, problems and hopes. Replying to questions, Kazimierz Barcikowski said, in part:

[Begin recording] We know about it and it is precisely in the period of martial law that it is the great task of our party to revive our strength and to rebuild confidence in the party among society. And, comrades, this will not be achieved only by handing out because then everyone will be with us. The problem then arises of what is to be handed out. The present crisis is made up of phenomena which are definitely tangible. They all restrict our possibilities of action and of satisfying human needs. First, it is the great drop in material production [word indistinct].

It is difficult to have more on the market, more in investment projects, and more in supplies if there is less in production. We are having to deal with a drop in productivity in industry and also on the railroads. With the same level of employment in industry, for instance, we are obtaining output in Poland which is 13-15 percent lower than what we have been getting in the past. While not contradicting anything that you said about the work of the railroads it is also true, when all is said and done, that on the railroads we are transporting about 20 percent less than in the past. This is precisely the crisis we are talking about.

Today one can speak of certain phenomena indicating an improvement in the economic situation. You see, there is an improvement everywhere where this improvement depends solely on us -- I have us Poles in mind. Hence there is an improvement in all raw material sectors of the economy, above all in the sphere of minerals. This applies to both coal and sulfur and also applies to other raw materials extracted in Poland. It also applies to the small-scale manufacturing industry which in principle works on the basis of Polish raw materials. We have an improvement in the purchasing of agricultural products apart from grain crops. What is most against us in the economy today are the tremendous difficulties in the balance of payments. These are the consequences of the sanctions which for political reasons and for political blackmail America -- the United States -- has applied against us and, under pressure, its Western allies have also applied. [end recording]

This afternoon Kazimierz Barcikowski met the secretariat of the Krakow party committee, secretaries of district committees and directors of regional centers of party (?press).

ARMY DAILY VIEWS PZPR'S IDEOLOGICAL TASKS

AU161703 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 13-14 Mar 82 p 3

[Kazimierz Ochocki article: "Following the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum -- Ideological Training and Struggle"]

[Excerpts] The saying that the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum was primarily "ideological" in character, despite the range of subjects discussed, has now become a cliche. The plenum responded to a considerable clamor emanating from many party committees to the affect that it was necessary for the party to launch an ideological offensive, to counter the enemy's destructive activities against Marxist-Leninist ideology, to purge this ideology of various false associations, to eliminate the deviations from the practice of socialist building and to bestow the necessary status on party studies and training.

Today every Marxist continues to ask himself why Marxism-Leninism, which is a programmatically vital and interesting ideology -- one that stimulated thinking and searching for the answers to the questions agitating man -- "is for some citizens a truth that sounds hollow and that is divorced from reality." This issue was tackled by Gen W. Jaruzelski in his report to the plenum.

Aside from the weaknesses of the process of propagating and fostering Marxism-Leninism and aside from the fact that false views were proclaimed on behalf of Marxism-Leninism, the main reason for its inefficiency in Poland is its separation from reality. That is the reason for the weaknesses of theoretical scientific work and for the loss of the revolutionary character of that ideology, whose mission is to "change reality."

The aim of this article is to evaluate the general conditions whose fulfillment is most necessary if the creative deevelopment of Marxist theory is to be assured. The primary aim is to find the right place for theoretical work within the context of the party's political and practical activities. As we know, our party has tried on many occasions to organize, improve and develop the system of producing Marxist scientific cadres. The aim of these efforts was not to produce amenable cadres, ones who would only be able to take an uncriticial and affirmative stand vis-a-vis party policy. Such cadres would not only be unnecessary; they would be downright harmful.

Unfortunately, such cadres were produced in the past. Scientific communities were excluded from research work, from making expert evaluations and from expressing their views on political resolutions and decisions of a tactical and strategic nature. The role of these communities in evaluating the compatibility between current policies and the strategic aims of socialism was feeble. I do not want to assert that scientists are infallible and that what they do and write should not be criticized. All I wish to do is to determine the role they have to play vis-a-vis party policy.

Their basic tasks include the task of creatively developing the Marxist theory and formulating new ideas and theories that help one to understand reality and then to influence and change it.

The first all-Poland ideological-theoretical conference, which, it was announced, would be held sometime in the future, should play an important role in fulfilling the party's expectations. While anticipating its possible results in the form of a program for research into present social reality, let us consider some problems facing the Marxist theoreticians -- problems that are particularly important from the viewpoint of the educational influence on young people and of the ideological struggle against the adversary.

Let us begin by stating that the practical experience of socialist construction in Poland was the chief object of the attacks of domestic foes of socialism and the center of the acute class and ideological struggle. Taking advantage of the favorable climate surrounding the criticism of the mass of errors and of the deviation from many principles of socialism during the tenure of the pre-August party leadership, those foes tried to cancel all the achievements of People's Poland, They questioned not only its economic, but political, cultural and scientific achievements as well. Marxism-Leninism was the primary target of their attacks.

The educational materials produced by the illegal political organizations and by the individual chapters of Solidarity are in fact slanders against Marxism. Works such as J. Tischner's "The Polish Form of Dialogue" and S. Konarski's "Marxism is Naked" as well as many emigree publications settle accounts with Marxism in an implacable manner. This is done through a suitable choice of materials, insinuation, a specific language using "black propaganda" terms and through vitriolic commentaries. All this is black paint to smear the history of People's Poland.

But why do such arguments convince many young people" Let us state outright that the Marxists themselves are not without blame in this regard. Despite various proposals, it has as yet been impossible to set up a research team to look into the history of Marxism in People's Poland. The ignorance in this field is the ally of the foes of Marxism, who select the past facts as they please and manipulate them. This is therefore a scientifically and ideologically important research task for the Marxists. Otherwise the foes will continue to exploit the experience of Marxism in Poland in the aforementioned manner. This exploitation is one of many confirmations of the familiar truth that the enemies of Marxism parasitically feed on the shortcomings of theoretical Marxist work.

The aforementioned arguments are related to the task of drawing up a program for socialist construction in Poland in the immediate and long-term future. Representatives of the social sciences have an important place in this great work, which has to be accomplished. They include economists, sociologists, educators, philosophers and all the other specialists in the social sciences. On the one hand, they should evaluate the results to date of Polish socialist construction, our economy, policy, social changes, the system of training and educating young people, changes in social awareness and so on. On the other hand, on the basis of such evaluations, it is necessary to answer many questions connected with programming further construction. For example, what we have to do to avoid economic, political and moral crises, to overcome some young people's disappointment and mistrust, to restore the party's authority in the workers class and the working people, to strengthen the socialist state and to promote socialist democracy. There are many urgent questions to be answered in connection with the need to combine the universal tenets of socialism with the national conditions for their implementation.

Let us take a look at the party's idea of national agreement as the road to socialist renewal for all patriotically minded Poles rallied around the task of building a strong, prosperous and just Poland. Translating this idea into action gives rise to a multitude of problems concerning the dialogue to be conducted, the range and nature of possible compromises, the tolerance and implementaiton of the supreme values of socialism and so on.

Our reality abounds in various potential possibilities for its further development. It is a plane where the most varied class, political, ideological, individual and group interests cross each other. We live under the pressure of many issues, which are often subjected to the dynamics of rapid changes.

However, there are certain basic values from which the party cannot depart and with which everyone who is not a declared foe of socialism should agree. These values are: socialism, the socialist state, the Polish people, the good of the working people and other values.

The Politburo report to the seventh plenum and the ensuing discussion contained many bitter complaints about the educational system in lower and higher schools and about the teaching profession. The past few months, which were filled with strikes by students and pupils, are bound to induce every educator to reflect deeply. Many so-called educators were mentioned at the plenum who had encouraged young people to strike and engage in the actions that conflict with the nature and task of schools. It was also mentioned at the plenum that the young people -- sensitive to any departure from the proclaimed socialist ideas and subjected to the impact of not only economic and political crisis, but also the moral crisis and primarily to the intensive impact of a treacherous and ruthless class enemy -- had lost their sense of direction and lapped up the slanderous and antisocialist propaganda campaign.

The damage done to the awareness of these young people is enormous, and it will take a long time to repair this damage. But we could shorten this time by imposing order on the relations between policy, proclaimed ideas and social practice on the one hand, and between ideals and training on the other. We could shorten that time by triggering the force of the arguments at the disposal of the Marxist socialist thought. The promised "youth" plenum of the Central Committee is expected to fulfill many hopes for improvements in the young people's situation and training.

The class confrontation imposed on us by our domestic foes and the world imperialist forces aiding them poses enormously important training and ideological tasks for every party member and party organization. The seventh plenum report, discussion and resolution also stressed this aspect of the increased militance of every party member and of the increased status and importance of the basic party organizations. At the same time, the results of the seventh plenum have created new opportunities for educational work among young people and for the struggle for the hearts and minds of socialist Poland.

'ANTI-STATE' ACTIVITY OF EMIGRE JOURNAL SCORED

LD171110 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 17 Mar 82

["Provocateurs at Paris 'KULTURA'" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Mar (PAP) -- Under this heading TRYBUNA LUDU prints an article on the activity of the Polish-language monthly magazine KULTURA which is published in Paris and which is elaborating plans for subversion against the socialist order in Poland. In the KULTURA issue for January-February there was an editorial article containing, as a TRYBUNA LUDU observer writes, an evaluation of the reasons for the defeat of the opposition in Poland and of the mistakes made by it which promoted this defeat. The article also examines the tasks of the opposition in Poland and presents at the same time a program for continuing the ideological and antistate struggle with People's Poland, writes the observer.

KULTURA, that Paris "brains trust", set the tone for the designs and activities of many opposition groups going under the badge of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee], of extremists with the Solidarity leadership and of the majority of its "advisers". After the December "hangover" the Paris inciters began to seek people to blame for the failure of their plans in Poland. For the first time the chiefs of Paris KULTURA carried out a criticial evaluation of the mistakes and underground activity of their ideological and political emissaries and opposition activists in Poland. The fact that the antisocialist opposition miscalculated and underrated the strength of the authority and political cohesion of Poland's apparatus and army was a decisive factor, the emigree leaders write.

"What must we propose and do today?" asks the Paris subversion center, and gives the prescription in the same breath: Among emigrees there is a need "for the strengthening of and creation of new centers for political influence" on Poland and for the arousing of Western governments to bring an economic boycott of Poland by explaining to them that this policy "has promising prospects for the West itself."

Consequently, we are dealing with a continuation of the ideological and political subversion which is being carried out. However, it must be still more clandestine and underground and it must have the risk of "human casualties" and "martyrs" which were lacking among those now being criticized, and among the intellectuals, "advisers" and leaders of opposition antistate and antisocialist organizations politically related to them.

Poland is on the bonfire of domestic confrontation and of confrontation between East and West -- that is the "credo" of the publishers of the Paris KULTURA and their financial and ideological bosses. Once again they are evidently counting on naive and deluded people in the maze of "domestic [word indistinct]", on people whom they have managed to deceive, concludes the organ of the PZPR Central Committee.

TRYBUNA LUDU CONTINUES SERIES ON RFE SUBVERSION

LD161740 Warsaw PAP in English 1427 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Mar (PAP) -- Reviewing the activity of the subversive Munich-based Radio Free Europe and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency with respect to the current situation in Poland, the Polish party newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU wrote today that "The CIA, which is inspiring and supervising the work of Radio Free Europe, does not want the declaration of martial law in Poland to remain justified in the mind of an average Pole by an objective need to check the raging chaos and stabilize Poland's internal situation.

"We wrote 'an objective need', [word indistinct] the growing anarchy and internal decomposition of our state make a substantial - if not the key - condition for playing the Polish card by external forces, which are alien or hostile to Poland.

"The elimination of the Polish national consciousness -- which is sensitive to all the transformations taking place around our country and alert to the emerging threats -- from the European political calculation today is undoubtedly the chief goal of the Radio Free Europe subversion inspired by the CIA.

"That was one of the reasons why that radio station gave its warm backing to all the conceptions aimed at weakening Poland's real significance in Europe and the world by gradually stripping her of the formidable trump cards stemming from her share in the Warsaw Treaty organization."

TRYBUNA LUDU went on to say that "Radio Free Europe is evading the issues of disarmaments parity in Europe and its effects.

"Now that every attempt at 'heating up further' the East-West military tension in Europe threatens with the biological extinction of the Polish nation, which - if this were the case - would be exposed only to the American missiles deployed in Western Europe, Radio Free Europe is impudent enough to tell the Polish listener about the need to further congest this area with NATO medium-range missiles, and criticize the fact that the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty organization have identical rockets for their defence.

"Therefore, the playing of the Polish card by aliens - in which both the CIA and Radio Free Europe are so actively engaged - makes the most dangerous and gloomy background of the anti-national propaganda disseminated from the West on the air."

SZALAJDA LEADS INDUSTRIAL DELEGATION TO MOSCOW

LD160014 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Report by Czeslaw Berenda in Moscow]

[Text] Minister of Metallurgy and Engineering Industry Zbigniew Szalajda and a group of specialists from various branches of Polish industry are visiting Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union. The visit is a continuation of the previous Polish-Soviet talks held to discuss expanding and deepening cooperation between the two countries' industries.

During the Moscow talks Minister Szalajda will work out the details of decisions made during the recent visit to the Soviet Union by the Polish party-state delegation led by First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Army General Wojceiech Jaruzelski, as well as decisions made when a group of Soviet economic specialists stayed in our country. It is particularly a question of specifying the principles and forms of cooperation between industries in Poland and the Soviet Union, and of specifying Soviet aid for our economy in raw and other materials -- as well as in technology -- for such fields as the shipbuilding industry, machine engineering, the tractor industry, the aircraft industry, the car industry, the electronics industry and metals, including iron, steel and nonferrous metals.

Minister Zbigniew Szalajda and the Polish specialists will also discuss the problem of deliveries of raw and other materials in short supply in our country which we have previously been imported fromthe second payment [dollar] zone.

COORDINATOR FOR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH USSR NAMED

LD162208 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] On the proposal of the chairman of the Planning Commission attached to the Council of Ministers, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Eng Stanislaw Wylupek as government plenipotentiary for coordinating economic relations with the Soviet Union. Stanislaw Wylupek is concurrently deputy chairman of the Planning Commission attached to the Council of Ministers.

BRIEFS

RAILWAY PRODUCTION -- The railways are working regularly this year. In both January and February the operational plans for transportation were exceeded. Last month the railways transported over 1 million tons of freight more than anticipated. When compared with last year however the balance is not so good. In February transportation was 1.8 million tons lower than during an analogous period last year. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 14 Mar 82 LD]

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM HELD 16 MAR

Dolanc Introductory Report

LD162240 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1244 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG) -- At today's session of the LCY Central Committee, Stane Dolanc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the LCY Central Committee Commission for working out the draft report on the work of the Central Committee between the two congresses, submitted the following introductory report:

You have before you the draft political report on the work of the LCY Central Committee and the basic characteristics of the activity of the LCY between the 11th and the 12th congresses. The proposer of the draft is the commission formed, on the basis of the authority by the LCY Central Committee, by the LCY Central Committee Presidium. At its 79th session, held on 3 February 1981, the Presidium adopted the decision on the appointment and structure of the commission to comprise 65 members, 34 members of the LCY Central Committee, 26 members of the central and provincial committees, 3 members of the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, 1 member of the committee of the conference of the organs of the federation and 1 member of the municipal committee.

At the first session of the commission, on 16 February 1981, the commission was constituted, the method of work and the framework of the content of the report established and seven working groups formed for material and social development; for the political system; for all-people's defense and social self-protection; for education, science, culture and information; for the development of the League of Communists; for international activity; and for the work of the organs and bodies of the LCY Central Committee. The groups have worked on the basis of previously worked out and adopted broader theses of individual chapters and on the basis of the document entitled "Basic Elements for the Preparation of the Concept of Ideopolitical Content and the Method of Preparing the 12th LCY Congress," adopted by the LCY Central Committee.

The commission, the 7 working groups and 8 sub-groups embraced a total of 165 comrades of both sexes, members of the LCY Central Committee, of the central and provincial committees and other activists, sociopolitical and scientific workers. The commission held 8 sessions, and the working groups and sub-groups, 39 working meetings.

In working out the draft report, the commission tried to grasp as realistically and objectively as possible the situation in society and the work of the League of Communists, to assess the political activity of the Central Committee, of the Presidium and of other LCY organs, that is, to assess the results, the successes and the experiences, and at the same time to examine critically the problems, difficulties, weaknesses, failures and conflicts which we have witnessed.

While working on the draft, the commission reported on two occasions to the Presidium and members of the LCY Central Committee about its activities. It also maintained continuous contact with the central committees of the republics and with the provincial committees, with the committee at the Yugoslav People's Army. It used their reports and tried to provide as complete as possible a description of LCY activity. This draft was also discussed at two sessions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium which decided to submit it for debate to the Central Committee.

The political platform of the action for the development of self-management, brotherhood, unity and togetherness in Kosovo is attached to the report as a component part, because we believe that this document is the most comprehensive analytical presentation of the situation. [Word indistinct] action of the League of Communists, of the successes and weaknesses in our work with regard to this problem, in view of the fact that this document analyzes most comprehensively the causes of the counter-revolutionary events in Kosovo.

As far back as the first discussions on the draft report we agreed that it should be critical with regard to the period under review because only in this way can we draw lessons and experiences for future work.

We have no reason whatsoever to hide in any way our difficulties and weaknesses. We are presenting in the report, realistically and objectively, the causes of the difficulties. We point openly to the omissions and weaknesses because we know that only in this way can we create the conditions for overcoming them efficiently. Our strength has always been in this. That openness and a critical attitude have only strengthened the trust of the working class and working people on the League of Communists and its policy.

In pointing out the mistakes and omissions, I believe, we shall also single out more easily everything which is positive and progressive, unfold new perspectives and determine the directions of political action. This is in order to encourage all organized social forces and working people to make fresh efforts in implementing the numerous tasks in the present stage of our socialist self-managing development. It is precisely in this that the historical responsibility of the League of Communists lies for the fate of the socialist revolution.

Comrades, I do not want to paraphrase the report but to point out some basic ideological and political aspects which are, in my view, the most characteristic for the activity of the League of Communists in the past period and for the sociopolitical situation in which this activity took place.

The 12th LCY Congress is the first following the victory of revolution and the setting up of Socialist Yugoslavia, in the work of which two great men of our revolutionary movement are not taking part -- Comrades Josip Broz Tito and Edvard Kardelj.

History, in particular contemporary history, has confirmed in a number of cases that following the death of great personalities, personalities who are rightly described as historical -- because they are at the same time both the products and the creators of history -- not only is a certain void created in societies in which these personalities acted but there are also numerous political, ideological and general social problems, foment, reexaminations and upheavals, and in this connection a change of one kind or another in the policy which these great personalities pursued.

The death of Comrade Tito who for over 40 years led, in the deepest meaning of this word, the Yugoslav communists, the working class, the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia along the paths of socialist revolution, naturally had to create a void in our society. The loss of a personality which radiated the feeling of security and confidence in one's own forces in national and world development so weighed down by major problems, a personality which meant for us, members of all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, also one of the very significant factors of social cohesion and integration, was not easy.

This void and this loss are all the greater since practically at the same time we lost yet another of the greatest sons of our people and of the most meritorious fighters of our revolution, Edvard Kardelj, Tito's closest associate over many years, whose brilliant and penetrating thought as a great socialist theorist is woven into all the fundamental decisions of our party. In his scientific works as well as in practical activity, Kardelj made a major contribution to the democratic development of our society, to the construction of our political system of socialist self-management and, in this connection, to the construction of the League of Communists, as well as to the policy of nonalignment.

Certainly, this void and this loss act on us also with reference to some aspects of our concrete political work. For decades we in Yugoslavia became accustomed to Tito's historical initiatives which always meant major steps in our revolutionary development and which, on Tito's authority as the head man of the party, ensured the acceptance of these initiatives as the basic program of the struggle.

But Tito was a great personality precisely because his initiatives and innovations were neither voluntarist interpretations nor pragmatist "real-political" compromises, but a deliberate expression of not becoming reconciled with what has already been achieved. It was also an expression of a critical attitude toward that which exists, and, at the same time, an expression of the objective progressive possibilities and tendencies of social development in the given period. In other words, both Tito's and Kardelj's initiatives were always an expression of the already manifested, or still not sufficiently manifested, not clearly formed, aspirations of the basic production masses. In this way, Tito and Kardelj acquired that historical authority to which we, by living and working with them, became accustomed.

Today, these historical initiatives and innovations (and without them there can be no socialist development nor existence in the conditions of the contradictions and dangers of the present-day world) must become and are becoming the collective work of the LCY. It is in this that the deepest historical meaning of the existence of the LCY lies.

And, in order that we might achieve this, two preconditions are necessary above all: first, to develop further, more fundamentally and in a more organized manner all the creative potentials of the League of Communists and of the entire social community; and second, to expand even more and even more consistently the self-managing democratic practice and relations, collective work and management. We must do this latter point in order to permit constructive critical deliberations on further development and, in this context, relevant initiatives and innovations and -- and this is of crucial significance -- to ensure that those initiatives and alternatives are accepted which by their theoretical and practical substantiation prove that they are the best expression of the aspirations of the working people of all nations and nationalities, of progressive possibilities, and of further socialist development.

Therefore, the League of Communists and all organized socialist forces as well as all the working people inside the self-managing institutions must, in the newer conditions, further develop the methods of political activity and, above all, further develop socialist self-managing democracy.

However, the void created in Yugoslavia by these events has not, as in analoguous situations, led to critical social foment, conflicts or upheavals. It has not and will not cause the least change in the basic political course in internal and foreign policy. We can even say that Tito's historical greatness, the greatness of his work, has become manifest even more clearly after his death. It has been confirmed that this work has, in the course of the decades of struggle of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, of the working class and all working people, become the indestructible social reality which cannot any longer be changed by anything and which, therefore, lives and develops further even when Tito is no longer physically among us. Thus, Tito's heritage is not represented merely by his ideas and by the memory of his revolutionary services, but in addition and above all, by Tito's own work -- socialist, self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia.

Therefore, Tito is for us not merely history which we created but also history which we continue to create. This is the reason, in fact, why we say that there is not any kind of post-Tito period, but a course which is expressed by the LCY program. That is, the policy of the League of Communists created by Tito and Kardelj together with the Central Committee and the entire LCY.

The introductory part of the report is devoted to this eternal work by Tito and Kardelj and to the precious heritage which they have left us, though we are conscious of the fact that it is difficult on such an occasion and in a relatively restricted space to express everything which these leaders of our revolution have given us, what they meant and what they mean as part of the very foundations of our present-day and future struggle for socialism, for national and human freedom and happiness.

Comrades, the report and President Tito's summing-up speech, the resolutions of the 11th LCY Congress and Edvard Kardelj's works on the political system of socialist self-management, as you know, contain in full the immediate and long-term tasks.

They lay down the directions and forms of activity of the League of Communists in all spheres of our socialist self-managing society as well as in the struggle for peace, equitable international cooperation and socialism in the world. At the last congress we particularly determined those measures and directions of activity which should contribute to the substantial changes in society's identity in the direction of the rule of associated labor and the real decisionmaking by the working class and the working people on all issues of life and work. In this sense, full attention has also been devoted to the role, responsibility and tasks of the organized socialist forces, led by the LCY, in the new system of socialist self-managing democracy.

With such clear orientations, the 11th LCY Congress, without doubt, broadly mobilized the membership of the League of Communists, the organized subjective forces of society and all working people. It set them on the course of conscious creative action which, despite certain weaknesses and omissions -- above all objective and subjective difficulties in the material development and the complex situation on the world scene, in particular the unfavorable influence of international economic trends -- represented a step further in the development of socialist self-managing relations and in the strengthening of the inalienable constitutional rights of the working man as the free producer and self-manager, and also in the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization.

Socialist self-management has affirmed itself as the fundamental system of production relations and the basis of all economic and political development. Our experience, even when we face most serious difficulties, problems and weaknesses -- as was the case in the period under review -- confirms that socialist self-managing democracy and associated labor, our producers and self-managers, are capable of successfully harmonizing the multitude of different interests and of resolving even the most complex problems which they face.

In the past period, there were three basic, mutually linked, revolutionary processes which we set in train with the new Constitution and with the Law on Associated Labor, which represented the substance of building self-managing organizations of a socialist society. They are, first, the process of pooling labor and resources of social reproduction (social capital); second, the process by which associated workers directly manage the activities which satisfy their needs in the sphere of education, culture, science, health protection, social policy, housing, communal services, and such like; and third, the process of socializing policy through the delegate system.

These three processes are also, by their substance, the processes of abolishing three basic aspects of alienation which socialism inherits from the old society: alienation of the worker from the conditions, means and results of his work; alienation of spiritual, intellectual potentials of work from the work itself; alienation of social ties, relations and joint interests of the working people in the form of political power, that is, of the state.

We can assert that socialist self-management in Yugoslavia has become a complete social system which has withstood difficult tests throughout all the decades of its existence. And it did so in the past period too, since the last congress when we faced many problems, in particular in the country's economic life. The process of the fundamental self-managing transformation is taking place in our country in all the spheres of socioeconomic and political life.

The most important features now are the difficulties in the initiated, historical, qualitative transition from the social situation in which the dominant role is still played by the state to the situation in which the decisive role should be played by the working class and the working people, or, as this is usually described, by self-managing associated labor. We are faced with a series of problems, with the remnants of the old and with the stubborn resistance to the new, with certain deformations in the practical application of the principles by which we are guided. Etatism in social relations is still deeply rooted. Furthermore, we are still not immune to pseudoliberalist pressures, nationalistic narrow-mindedness, selfish and particularist behavior by individual social structures and so forth.

In a nutshell, we are faced with a series of contradictions the most fundamental of which is -- this is proved both by theoretical substantiation as well as by numerous practical experiences -- that the state, regardless of how significant it might be for the protection of the basic interests of the working class, is not and cannot be the creator of those social relations which will affirm the real emancipation of the working class and man in general from all forms of domination and usurpation, of etatist, techno-administrative, bureaucratic or other origin and nature. [as received] The state cannot be that; this role can only be played by the working class and all working people, all conscious socialist forces, which, by their aspirations for emancipation, their consciousness, their devotion and efforts will build their social reality on new foundations.

The development of socialist self-management is also, at the same time, the process of withering away of the state. This as is known, (?the classics) of Marxism considered as one of the most essential processes of the period of transition. The future does not belong either to the state or to the party but to the free associations of associated producers, to a society in which man, as free creator, will stand opposite nature and, by discovering all its laws, will increasingly subordinate it to himself and to his free purposeful activity; a society in which society's social relations will increasingly become his own free work and the objective forces; which have ruled history until then, come under the control of people; a society in which, as Engels wrote, "people alone, and fully conscious, will create their own history" and "social causes which they will set in train will predominatly and increasingly have the consequences they want."

Our society has demonstrated that self-management is developing a new socialist democracy. We are convinced that there can be no socialism without democracy but also that there can be no genuine democracy without socialism. It is beyond dispute that socialism acquires the most progressive achievements of the century-old struggle of the popular masses for democratic relations, for individual freedoms and institutions. But, in our view, socialism must go further also with reference to democracy. It must develop democracy the meaning of which is the broadest economic, political, cultural -- in one word, social -- activity and initiative of the working people. It is a sociopolitical and economic system in which the working people directly and in a sovereign manner decide on the conditions, means and results of their work, on their individual and social needs, on all general social affairs, from the school to the hospital to the army.

This is a great, perhaps the greatest, humanist idea of the past (pre-) history, which only socialism, as the beginning of the genuine human history, begins to realize. Socialist democracy should build up a system of institutions which will make the realization of this idea possible. Self-management is, in our view, also the basic activity in the realization of this great idea and the chief institutional form through which this idea is realized.

However, this does not mean that with these strategic orientations all problems are resolved beforehand; it does not even mean that all development problems have been examined beforehand and that relevant concrete solutions have been found. One of the basic experiences which we have acquired in the past 36 years is contained in the fact that the construction of socialism is a long-lasting revolutionary process. This is not a mere phrase but a reality which is being continuously confirmed.

Second, the construction of socialism through the process of socialist revolution does not take place in some kind of harmonious society but in a society with real social contradictions which are not merely the heritage of the old but which are also born in the incessant struggle for the new. They are not only of an objective nature but also imply a different, and at times even contradictory social, in the first place, and economic position of the social strata and thus also differences and contradictions in interests, aspirations and consciousness in general.

In Yugoslavia, this is manifested in particular in view of the fact that we are a multinational community with varying degrees of economic development in individual republics and provinces. But all are marked by the intensive aspiration for a speedier development for the better, often even without regard for the real possibilities. It is from these aspirations, which are an expression of the democratic pluralism of various self-managing interests, that many economic problems stem, which, with regard to the specific situation, can and do assume a political content which, at times, leads to diverse nationalistic tendencies. This must be spelled out and expressed in the political life of a democratic society such as ours.

Many of these differences and contradictions are those which socialism itself, by its nature, inevitably carries with it in view of the historically still necessary existence of the division of labor, goods production, state and such like. In our country, these various interests are harmonized and lead to unity both inside associated labor and the political system of socialist self-management. These harmonization processes by means of social negotiations and self-managing agreement-reaching, of course, are neither easy nor quick. However, the results achieved by consensus of all the subjects of our society are both stable and long-term, as opposed to those arrived at previously by the decision of the party or the state or other etatist structures. It is clear that on the basis of these contradictions, certain interests also emerge as well as a consciousness relevant to them, interests which in one way or another work against the socialist self-managing development. In his last public statement, in the speech at the 11th LCY Congress, Kardelj stressed that our socialist revolution, from its inception right up to the present, faced and is facing two real dangers: the danger of bourgeois restoration and the danger from etatist-bureaucratic degeneration and deformation.

These dangers, as our experience confirms, become particularly topical in situations when various political and economic problems pile up in our development. Of course, they never manifest themselves in a pure form because, in view of the degree of development of self-managing relations and the socialist consciousness of a great majority of people, they cannot manifest themselves in a pure form. Therefore, they emerge as one-sided problems in practice, in particular in concrete attitudes with regard to concrete social, political or economic problems.

The new social organization which we have formulated by legislation, and legally-politically in the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, which was ideopolitically confirmed at the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses, is gradually replacing, and we could say also painstakingly, the former social organization in which elements of state ownership had operated to a much greater degree. These, for us negative elements of the old social organization, in fact its social representatives and exponents, offer resistance to changes. This is both normal and natural in such situations.

The struggle against these and similar tendencies which also went on in this pre-congress period was also not easy. The current role of the League of Communists lies precisely in its continuously sounding a warning, both ideologically and politically, about the dangers which stem from these tendencies, and in opposing them decisively.

Comrades, in this period, numerous economic and social problems have become exacerbated. Above all, the fundamental changes of the socioeconomic relations in spheres of social reproduction have not been efficiently implemented. In individual sections of reproduction, there has been stagnation in the development of socialist self-managing relations. This has been caused in party by weaknesses in the activity of the socialist subjective forces. It has also been caused by their not being more on the offensive and more penetrating in the application of the Constitution, the Law on Assiciated Labor and other orientations, in particular by the strong activity of the state-property, technocratic and particularist consciousness and types of behavior, both in the development of self-managing relations as well as in the development of and current economic policy.

This is, of course, only the consequence of the still strongly embedded nonself-managing position and the economic and political power of numerous social and economic factors in disposing of the income and of accumulation. This makes it difficult, and sometimes even impossible, to have the self-managing relations develop and be promoted speedily, the constitutional position of workers realized, the more powerful action of etatist and technocratic factors eradicated as well as the collusion between technobureaucratic elements and their role in the social and economic life and development destroyed and overcome. The consequence of this, still probably the major contradiction in production relations, is the fact that greater progress in workers in associated labor becoming the masters of income and accumulation has not been achieved. The decisions on this are still, to a very great extent, adopted by bypassing the workers. That is, they are adopted by narrow structures of sociopolitical communities, organs of self-managing interest communities, banks and management structures of organizations of associated labor. Therefore, objective economic laws and the market are curtailed, the pooling of labor and resources fettered -- pooling which has not yet penetrated the trends of reproduction -- while the motivation of workers to increase income is fairly restricted.

The foreign trade deficit and the indebtedness abroad, above all in the West, in this entire period and in particular in the past 2 years, has demanded and demands today in even more incisive terms the following: greater production and higher productivity, struggle for exports, earning of foreign exchange to pay the debts, annuities and interests due. These are currently the major economic and political issues. They can be resolved in a stable and efficient manner only on the basis of respect for the principles which stem from the fundamental production relations of our system and of the norms which stem from this -- that is, in a self-managing way.

Without calling into question the significant results which we have achieved in the country's socioeconomic development in this period, certain material difficulties and contradictions have become very exacerbated and have become primary political issues. Thus the economic trends have assumed very unstable characteristics. They also include the objective difficulties of a painful transition from an underdeveloped to a medium-developed country, from extensive to intensive development. These difficulties demand that an end be put to the practice of development on unrealistic material assumptions to spend over and above the actual income realized. Therefore, many things in our development and economic policy had to crack. The problems that had piled up over a long period of time have been laid bare and shown themselves in their true light.

Thus, the development of the economy and of other social activities was at variance with the demands and changes sought by production forces in the country and the world. The economic growth was chiefly based on the domestic boom, on the continuous increase in capacities and the number of employed, along with their insufficient and irrational use, on high euphoric consumption and imports, and thus extensive elements dominated. [as received] The significant and continuously growing technical and technological equipment of the economy and the too high a share of investments in the social product did not provide for a greater increase in labor productivity. The efficiency of economic activity was also falling. We seriously neglected agriculture. All this was also reflected in a noticeable worsening of country's balance of payments, high indebtedness and a weakening of foreign liquidity. This became one of our major problems and a serious limiting factor in development. Our tasks, too, in the direction of structural changes were implemented too slowly and insufficiently.

The exacerbated international economic relations, which are marked by the widening gap between the developed and underdeveloped countries, also certainly helped intensify some of our internal economic difficulties. The increase in production and trade has slowed down. Protectionism and discrimination are intensifying. The economic crisis has worsened. Great deformations have arisen in the monetary-currency sphere; the price of oil and of equipment have increased immensely; unemployment in the world is continuously increasing and the influence of multinational companies is growing.

In a word, the economic crisis which has affected all countries and regions of the world has a long-term character. It cannot be overcome all that easily and in the foreseeable future.

However, our main economic difficulties are not due to this, but are predominantly internal in character.

I would like to stress in this connection that economic policy and development plans have often been insensitive to very major changes in the world economy and to the crises and disruptions which have constantly affected our economy and economic development. Much time has been lost in drawing the right and timely lessons for our economic development from international economic trends.

In the conditions created by the accumulation of economic problems, we have made excessive use of administrative means and interventions. These measures were often necessary, but they solved economic problems only temporarily, while failing to lead to a long-term reduction of disproportions in our economic development and failing to encourage the development of socialist self-managing relations. This has been reflected most directly in the supressions of economic laws in the area of reproduction and of the market criteria in the area of economic activity; in the growing confinement of the processes of the circulation of goods and resources within regional limits, and in autarkism and the disruption of the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market.

The League of Communists and all socialist forces in our society have devoted great attention to these questions. They have analyzed the causes of economic difficulties and launched numerous social actions and economic policy measures at all levels with the aim of eliminating the causes and surmounting difficulties more speedily and effectively on the basis of the development of self-management and the policy of economic stabilization. These questions have been the subject of discussion at several sessions of the Central Committee and Presidium. Ideopolitical orientations have been finalized to provide the basis for the action of the League of Communists and of all socialist forces. We always have been and should still today be critical in appraising the action of the League of Communists because the League must never be content with what has been achieved. The League must see further ahead, must seek the attainment of ever greater and better results in the field of social and material development. At the same time, we must not underestimate all that we have achieved during this period in overcoming numerous difficulties, contradictions, various forms of resistance and the old conservative way of thinking.

In the material sense we have achieved significant results. For instance, in the period 1978-81 the social product grew at an annual rate of 4.4 percent and industrial production at the rate of 6.3 percent. Jobs were created for over 1.3 million working people. Last year we achieved a sizable reduction in the balance of payments deficit.

Progress was achieved in meeting the personal and social needs of working people and citizens, in the growth of the individual and social standard of living, though last year there was stagnation in this respect. In other fields of social work and life as well we achieved visible results. All the republics and provinces achieved progress in the field of economic and social development. All this constitutes a sound basis for the further successful self-managing and the entire social community for the next period.

Comrades, during the period between the two congresses significant progress has been made in consolidating our nations' and nationalities' equality, brotherhood and unity. It has been proven that self-management most powerfully safeguards the freedom and quality of nations and nationalities. It provides every nations not only with political and cultural freedom, but also with economic independence in the conditions of interdependence on an equal footing and of responsible relations with other nations and nationalities that live in the same political and economic system. This national economic independence is one of the essential components which ensures the freedom of the working people and working class. And, like political and cultural independence, it also constitutes an integral part of the solution of the national question in our country.

The past period has proven that this self-managing independence of our nations and nationalities is the only motivating force in the strengthening of equality-based mutual responsibility for joint life. All the nations and nationalities are aware that only this kind of sociopolitical and socioeconomic system can guarantee their national and social development.

It is quite evident that in the process of considering these problems the organs and organizations of the League of Communists have not sufficiently proceeded from the fact that we can successfully surmount concrete problems by developing socialist self-managing relations in the economy and other social spheres.

Any generalized discussions proceeding primarily from the etatist positions can only exacerbate problems and relations. I think that I can also say that the vast majority of working people do not accept these positions. They see them more as a struggle for power than as a struggle to improve their position, despite the fact that many have invoked the working class and have claimed to speak on its behalf.

During this period the League of Communists has successfully repulsed all the attempts to attack the fundamental principles of togetherness of Yugoslav socialist self-managing society.

It goes without saying that in this field too we have not been spared some serious problems and difficulties. When I say this I do not bear in mind only the recent events in Kosovo, which are dealt with separately in the platform. I also mean to say that the events in Kosovo are themselves an integral part of all the attacks made by various forces on the SFRY's sociopolitical system and thus also on our independence and sovereignty.

The LCY's attitude on these questions is clear. We have sharply condemned the counter-revolution, and we have made it clear to everybody that there can and will be no changes in the SFRY's constitutional order.

In our action in Kosovo our basic weapon is the ideopolitical struggle waged by the working class and working people of Kosovo themselves. In this connection one should stress the responsibility borne by the organizations and organs of the League of Communists of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia. This action should also be aimed at the fastest possible development of Kosovo's economic and social potentials. We have resorted to administrative measures only where and when this was necessary for the defense of the constitutional order. We shall continue to act in this way in the future as well.

Comrades, it is well known that the documents of the 11th LCY Congress pay particular attention to the role played in our development by those forces which we call the subjective factors of socialist society. In this sense particular reference has been made to sociopolitical organizations, specialized work, science and creative theoretical work. The attitudes adopted by the last congress on these questions are an expression of the resolute effort of Yugoslav communists to consolidate persistently and in every stage of development the essential characteristics of our national liberation struggle and socialist revolution so that the latter can constantly develop as the work of all the strata of working people in keeping with their full potential, as the work of all of our nations and nationalities.

When critically analyzing the results of our endeavors, we do not lose sight of the fact that they constitute a road which refutes and transcends much that has long been established both in political ideas and practice of present-day multi-party and one-party systems. This is also a road on which we inevitably clash with certain concepts and trends in our own practice.

As the leading ideopolitical and cohesive force of our society, the LCY has exercised its influence by means of its attitudes, together with the working class and all the working people, on the settling of the topical questions and contradictions which have inevitably manifested themselves during this stage of our socialist self-managing development. Through this action it has itself developed and has improved its methods of work within the sociopolitical system.

One of the effects of this activity is the admission of 605,735 new LCY members since the last congress, so that the LCY now has over 2.1 million members, which is 23.1 percent more than at the beginning of 1978. However, the LCY has not yet sufficiently understood and developed the methods of work and ways and forms of political action which would make possible its constant presence in the very entity of social life, wherever self-managers make decisions on their own life and that of all society. We still come across the fact that our organizations and organs also strive to place themselves in the position of arbiter. It is not an infrequent phenomenon that others leave this task to the communists. In this way they can shift their own responsibility to the LCY organizations and organs.

Examples of this are encountered in municipalities, the republics and provinces, and even the federation.

The attitudes adopted by the LCY organizations and organs usually reflect the necessary ideological and political unity, at least at the time of the adoption of these attitudes. However, problems often emerge in the course of implementation. The principle of democratic socialism is interpreted in too formalist a manner. Not infrequently it applies to some of our organs and organizations only when this suits their immediate political or economic interests. So then, one of the basic problems in our organizations, the problem of the implementation of the jointly adopted attitudes, persists.

We have a certain number of LCY members who are not sufficiently active and who only belong to our organization more or less formally. All our organizations and organs are dutybound in the course of their everyday self-managing practice and ideopolitical action to check the work of every LCY member and his readiness and willingness to carry out the political tasks which now face us all.

During this period the LCY Central Committee has been active and has discussed virtually all the fundamental issues which confront it, as can be seen from the attached material and from the report. In its work the Central Committee has displayed a high degree of ideological and political unity. Democratic relations in its work have constantly improved and it has become better informed. In the report you will also be able to find all the features of the work of the Central Committee Presidium.

However, here too we continue to face the basic unresolved question of relations between the Central Committee and the Central Committee Presidium. The LCY Central Committee has not to a sufficient extent controlled the manner in which its executive organs and political executive organs implement its decisions. The LCY Central Committee is the highest-ranking LCY organ to exist between two congresses. The functions of the Presidium and all other organs must be subordinated to this role.

Though the role played by the other subjective factors of our self-managing society has undeniably grown stronger during this period, we cannot yet be content with the work of the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions, the youth organizations and other organized subjective forces. It should be understood that one of the causes of our present problems and difficulties lies in the fact that this role has not yet fully manifested itself. Thus there is our consequent inability to bring together and adequately sustain all the newly-grown creative forces of the working class and working people and their socialist and self-managing awareness and the work and results of our scientific potentials.

Why does this disproportion take place? In searching for the answer we must focus our attention primarily on the League of Communists itself. It must ceaselessly look for fresh organization and work methods, and develop truly democratic relations inside its organizations and organs. More than anything else, this will enable it to open itself completely and enter the socialist self-managing system, to be active in democratic association, and sharing responsibility with all the creative socialist forces, contributing to mutual activity all its revolutionary experience, and accepting fresh comprehension and all the progressive initiatives.

Only thus shall we overcome our excessive vaqueness and generalized way of approaching social problems. This has too often lead during this period to a formalist attitude to these problems, routine discussions and their repetition, and finally to the emergence of indifference. In this way sociopolitical organizations and even the League of Communists itself become permeated by a tendency to bureaucratize these organizations or, to be more precise, their forums, which are beginning to think that the people exist for their sake alone.

Likewise, it is obvious that at the present state of our development, our social and production practice calls much more than ever before for scientific research and theoretical analysis. Our aim is to see that socialist practice should consciously and in an organized manner orient itself toward science, as Tito said when speaking at the 11th LCY Congress. On the other hand, science and theory must gain a comprehensive and deeper insight into all those questions which are the product of the development of socialist self-managing relations and social awareness of the working people. Without science it is not possible to make any progress. It has for a long time now been the prerequisite for successful development, for a better tomorrow.

Comrades, during the past period the LCY was totally involved in the implementation of Comrade Tito's initiative on collective work and leadership. It is obvious that certain successes have been achieved in this respect. However, here I should like to draw attention to the shortcomings which have been and are sometimes still present in the realization of this initiative. The discussions on collective work and democratization of cadre policy often or primarily involved the duration of the mandate. In my view, this represents only one part of the substance of this initiative.

It is a fact that in the leading League of Communists organs we have not adequately developed the new methods of political work and political leadership which are necessary if collective work is to function even better. In this context I am thinking also of the necessary reduction in the age of the leadership of the League of Communists. The average age of LCY membership is about 34 years. We are one of the youngest, if not the youngest, party in Europe. However, on the other hand, the average age of the leadership is considerably higher, which is understandable up to a point. It must be understood that the continuity of the revolution is not ensured by old cadres alone, but by an organic ideological and political link between the old and young generations.

At the same time, in our leaderships in the republics and in the provinces, and particularly in the federation, there are not enough new, young cadres, especially in responsible functions. We are still witnessing the fact that rotation is understood in a formalistic way. We are often more or less turning in a closed circle, and are moving from one responsible position to another. In so doing the importance of the time limit on the duration of the mandate is often reduced. This is why I think that this problem should be examined more comprehensively, particularly at the federal level.

Genuinely democratic relations, patience and understanding in discussions, trust and frankness, must prevail in our organs. This alone will make it possible, through a principled discussion, for us to arrive at the most objective and correct political stands. As a rule our sessions go on for 8, 10 or even more hours; very often we deliver long monologues and lectures for one another.

Creative discussions, criticism and self-criticism -- because of a measure of opportunism -- are still not present to a sufficient degree. The implementation of these premises is necessary to make collective work as a whole come to life and contribute to further democratic development both in the League of Communists and society.

Comrades, the part of the report on international cooperation proceeds from international socioeconomic and political conditions in which the LCY and the SFRY fulfilled their active and all-round foreign political activity. These conditions, as you know, are characterized by a profound crisis in all areas of life and by an exceptional complexity in the international situation. I must particularly stress that the LCY and the SFRY are very worried by the long-term deterioration of international relations caused by the confrontation between the superpowers and blocs. They continue the struggle for expanding and redistributing spheres of interest, coupled with pressure, evergrowing armaments, frequent use of force, interference in the internal affairs of others, particularly less-developed countries, while they themselves are confronted by considerable economic and other difficulties. This confrontation has blocked the Madrid Conference on European Security and Cooperation. It has brought about a serious threat to world peace, not to speak of other negative consequences, for instance, the process of resolving vital economic problems between developed and developing countries.

In these conditions, the policy of nonalignment too has come up against increasing pressure by bloc forces, attempts to introduce ideological differentiation and links, which has intensified internal contradictions within the movement, economic troubles and, objectively speaking, made the solution of the armed conflict between individual nonaligned countries difficult.

Despite these difficulties I must stress that during the period between the 11th and 12th congresses the policy of nonalignment continued to expand and to confirm itself as the only true alternative to the bloc division of the world. The policy of nonalignment preserved its authentic principles and proved its ability to express the vital interests of all mankind. Nonaligned policy is today the basic force of the struggle for peace, principles of peaceful coexistence, universality of detente, opposition to armament, denunciation of the policy of force, intervention and of interference. In so doing, it is an essential factor of progress in international relations.

The assessment about the general crisis of the capitalist system is indisputably accurate. This is confirmed by the overall world development; however, this does not mean that crisis only exists in the capitalist countries. A multitude of events, including some very dramatic ones, warn us that a crisis in various forms exists also in other systems. The underlying reasons of this crisis differ; however, one of the basic ones, in the assessment of the LCY, is that the working class and the working people are still kept in a position which does not make it possible for them to decide about the surplus value of the work they create. Accordingly, such social relations essentially determine the position of workers and the working people as that of a hired person. In all essential aspects, their position remains unchanged and no socialist facade alters the substance of the matter. This is why no country is immune from manifestations of crisis.

This applies to our country as well. Practice tells us that the basic reasons for certain manifestations of crisis in our country are in the inadequately developed socialist self-management relations. That is to say, they are due to the persistence of etatism and administrative settlement of economic, social and other problems. However, we admit that socialist self-management in our country has not yet been sufficiently developed. The socialist self-management system has not been totally completed and that as a whole it does not function in the way we had envisaged. Furthermore, we admit that the element of the new and of the old system still mingle in our existing system. The forces which are pulling backward and which sometimes even proffer an etatist recipe on behalf of socialism and on behalf of the working class and the working people still operate in our country.

Manifestations of crisis and their exacerbations and even conflicts in individual socialist countries, therefore, cannot be simply explained as being influenced by the capitalist world, with the influence of the imperialist propaganda by reactionary forces, or by reference to a difficult economic situation.

It is obvious that new problems are emerging (?in) socialist countries which from time to time acquire dramatic forms. In our view, these problems have their origin primarily within the societies themselves, in the ability of subjective socialist forces to assess these problems and the real reasons behind them, to admit the existing contraditions and to suggest the resources, forms, and ways and means of resolving them. This, among other things, presupposes that subjective socialist forces must constantly check the correctness of their policy, strengthen the links between subjective socialist forces and the working class and working people. The party which moves away from its class, from the workers and the working people, is not in a position to play a vanguard role and to resolve the problems of the further (?development) of socialist society.

In his well-known work "Socialism and War," written in 1960, Kardelj set forth, among other things, this very important thought: "At the present time the problem of the free choice of the ways and forms of socialist developemnt is becoming increasingly important. Of course, in principle there is only one socialism as a historic socioeconomic category. But then feudalism, capitalism and other social systems were quite an explicit category, yet the ways and the forms of their emergence and development were extraordinarly varied. This applies even more to socialism because this is a process of the emergence of a classless society and is therefore a much more complex process. Furthermore, the contradiction between the worlds of socialism and capitalism will gradually become of secondary importance. The problem of the further development of socialist social relations will increasingly become the true history of our time. True, it would be wrong today to underrate the importance of the aforementioned contradiction because the forces of capitalism are still relatively strong. However, it would be even more wrong to think that when saying that a country is socialist everything has been said. The same battle is fought on socialist soil although in a different form; it mingles with internal contradictions of socialist development itself, which is the very thing which in a period of transition creates the opportunity for etatism, natural egotism, bureaucratic monopoly, and so forth."

This analysis provided by Kardelj in 1960 is very topical even today. This is why the events in Poland and around it are of crucial importance for the overall development of contemporary socialism and exercise an enormous influence on the workers movement and progressive democratic forces in all countries. They have a direct impact on general political conditions in Europe and in the world. They have become a subject of bloc rivalry leading to a serious international aggravation of tension. At the same time, the crisis in Poland has made many earlier issues topical, such as the relations between the communist parties, the relations among socialist countries, the prospect of the development of socialism, and so forth. It is natural that, in our country too, we should set in motion a broad critical and creative discussion on all the problems brought up by the crisis in Poland. What we have learnt so far will be enriched by new experience. It is not enough to speak only of the constant consolidation of socialism as a world process; all the dilemmas we are facing in the construction of socialist social relations must be sized up as well.

No one today can take a propaganda approach to the solution of such a situation, but only a marxist, scientific and critical creative approach. In this way alone can discussions about relations among communist parties yield objective results. Unfortunately, there is still the old practice of labelling and persistently rejecting all critical thought. Tendencies are present whereby every criticism is described as support for imperialism and for reactionary warmongering strongholds.

The League of Communists advocated and continues to advocate full affirmation and consistent application of democratic principles in relations between communist and workers parties, such as the principles of equality, responsibility of every party to its working class and to its people, noninterference in internal affairs, a right to different paths in the struggle for the creation and development of socialist social relations, and so forth. The League of Communists has been advocating these principles for decades, and they were confirmed at the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Comrades, with the Central Committee session today and with the discussion on and adoption of this document, the LCY is opening, that is to say it is setting in motion, the pre-congress discussion. This requires all communists to display maximum commitment, responsibility and ideolpolitical unity. In the preparations for the 12th congress we can provide the stimulus for all subjective forces in our society to make fresh efforts in the implementation of the many and not at all easy tasks at this stage of our socialist self-management development. As the leading ideopolitical force of our society, the LCY must come face to face with the challenges of the present time in a totally open and critical manner. In this way alone can we make sure that the Yugoslav socialist revolution will unswervingly continue along the road on which it has marched for decades with Tito at its head and conquer fresh areas of what is even more progressive, free and humane, and which we have put down in our program.

Discussions, Debate

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["Proceedings at the LCY Central Committee Session -- TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG) -- The first participant in the discussion, Kosta Nadj, began by noting that the text of the report on the work of the LCY Central Committee and on the basic characteristics of LCY activity between the 11th and 12th congresses should be thoroughly revised. The surfeit of phraseology and repetition and should be removed and it should be rewritten in a slightly simpler form.

Asking to what extent people younger than 27 years of age are represented in party committees, in Socialist Alliance sections, in delegations and in delegate assemblies, Nadj, like Dolanc before him in his introductory report, remarked that we have too few young people in all these structures.

Nijaz Dizdarevic restricted himself to the part of the report which speaks of the international cooperation of the League of Communists during the past period. I compared this report, Dizdarevic said, with the report to the 11th congress submitted by the Central Committee. I found that the great activity in international cooperation in our country, the Leagues of Communists the republics, the provinces, and work organizations, was represented much more adequately in that report. It was introduced not only as an addition to the passage concerning the democratization of our foreign policy but as an essential component part of the establishment of the international position of Yugoslavia and as a factor of creating the unity of Yugoslav working people, nations and all of us concerning foreign policy matters that gave it strength.

This report, Dizdarevic added, speaks only of the foreign policy aspect of our presence in Havana. We all remember that the entire League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance, delegate assemblies, and social councils held sessions before and afterwards, and involved all the factors in our society. This penetrated very deeply in the struggle to make our society act coherently in the preparations and to incorporate them all in the formulation of this policy.

Lambe Mihailovski spoke of the activity of the communists in the Yugoslav People's Army since the 11th congress. The very active attitude of the communists in the work for better and more efficient solutions in the consolidation of the defense potential of our society, Mihailovski said, was prompted also by the unfavorable development of the military-political situation in the world and by the attempts at destructive activity by the internal enemy on the fundamental values of our independent socialist self-management development and our existence as a community of equal nations and nationalities.

In the activities of the internal enemy in our country, Mihailovski stressed, we recognize that no matter how much he sheltered behind phrases and demagoguery of leftwing orientations of liberalism or democracy and others, the old enemy known to us, the remnants of defeated but not quite beaten forces which during the war, but also in the postwar period, were on the side of the enemy of the new socialist self-managing Yugoslavia.

It is not surprising at all that the demands and the slogans of the present irredentists in Kosovo are the same under which Ballist quislings marched up and down and caused so much evil. From the ranks of the Cominform, attempts are made by anarcho-liberalistic and other opposition groups to belittle the achievements of our revolution. Attacks are made on the personality and revolutionary achievement of Comrade Tito. Socialist self-management and the nonaligned and independent position of Yugoslavia are rejected.

Mihailovski referred to the difficulties of our socioeconomic development, which arouse the interest and concern of the men and officers in our army, and also to the material and other problems of the further modernization of the army which have been made somewhat more difficult. He stressed that people have been and always remain the main and decisive factor of our defense and protection. The concept of our all-people's defense, he added, has its basic and sure foundation in this orientation of ours. Comrade Tito tirelessly taught us about that. This is the basic lesson and message of his revolutionary work.

Mihailovski went on to say that a high level of unity of views and activities of the communists and League of Communists organizations in the army on all essential questions of army build-up had been achieved. This is particularly true in the need for accelerated technical and overall modernization of the Yugoslav People's Army, bringing down the age of cadres in responsible military and party functions in the units and institutions, strengthening security and self-protection and elimination of crisis situations, the further development of the theory and practice of the all-people's defense concept, the implementation of economic stabilization measures, and consolidating the role of the League of Communists basic organizations and of the moral and real image of the communists. This has contributed to the further growth of the reputation and influence of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army and its greater efficiency in the struggle for the implementation of LCY policy in developing the army.

The report rightly makes the critical remark that there are few creative discussions in the League of Communists, Joze Smole said. Many shortcomings which we met in the past were tied to the erroneous understanding of the League of Communists as a state party, Smole stressed. Although we established clearly a long time ago that the League of Communists is not a state party, but a leading ideopolitical force of our self-management socialist society, we still have the tendency of conduct of some League of Communists forums, or at least in some sections of their activity, as if it was a state party.

We must state critically, noted Smole, that some League of Communists bodies have overly strong links with the state structure and with executive organs -- both on the federal level and in the republics, provinces and in municipalities as well as in work organizations where the League of Communists often uncritically supports the stands of administrative organs. Smole said that this can seriously threaten the revolutionary movement of the working class.

In Smole's view, creative dialogue in the League of Communists has been hampered by the very frequent practice of attaching labels. He added we are too much inclined to immediately attach various labels to those views which we do not like, views such as liberalism, dogmatism or other-isms. However, this does not lead to anything; or rather, to put it more accurately, it limits creative discussion. Instead of producing rash qualifications tied to specific labels, discussions should be held on the basis of arguments. If I say that something is liberalistic, I have not proved anything nor have I contributed to clearing up the matter. A dialogue must be conducted with arguments. Only in this way can the range of creative discussion in the League of Communists be developed, stressed Smole.

Joze Smole also set forth some meaningful observations of the section of the draft report which refers to information, or rather to the assessment of our press, radio and television. I think that what is lacking is a rather more comprehensive affirmative assessment of the development of public information media. We ought to have noted with pride that our press occupies a prominent place in the world in terms of the quality and objectivity of interpreting events. We have a press which is in a position to comprehensively and objectively interpret the events, said Smole.

Speaking of the need to further socialize the press Smole noted, among other things, that there is still agitprop activity and meddling in the press. Those who resort to agitprop practice in fact operate from positions of authority, that is to say they treat the League of Communists as a state party. Smole then said that harm is done to LCY if blanket attacks are made first on one and then on another section of public information media. There has been such manifestations, and such blanket condemnation in inaccurate. These attacks also create an unfavorable mood among a great number of journalists who work very honestly and from positions of socialist self-management work in all public information media. In addition, blanket attacks first on this and then on another section of the press create a wrong impression in the world, suggesting that we in Yugoslavia are moving away from democracy and that we are returning to strongarm policies. Instead of blanket critical assessments, a method of concrete consideration of (?negative) manifestations has to be introduced and an agreement to open the prospects for the solution of the problem has to be arrived at through criticism.

Mirjana Matic-Pocek noted that the title on the introductory party of the report "Historic Achievement of Tito and Kardelj" was not in keeping with what is contained in it and suggested it should be entitled "The Historic Achievements of Tito and Kardelj -- A lasting Basis for the Development of the Socialist Revolution, System of Socialist Self-Management and Socialist Togetherness of the Nations and Nationalities of Yugoslavia." She also proposed that the section on Edvard Kardelj's achievement should be expanded.

Asking to speak again, Nijaz Dizdarevic took up the part of Joze Smole's discussion statement on the press and said that he did not agree with some of Smole's statements. I do not agree with the basic impression, said Dizdarevic, that in globally denouncing the denouncement of the press Smole is equally globally denouncing [words indistinct]. I agree that the assessments in this report must be balanced, but we cannot speak in such an abastract way. For example there was a statement yesterday by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia in connection with Moma Kapor's interview in MLADOST and its reprint in NIN. This should not come under any suspicion in this discussion about information media.

They are not sinless, nor are they responsible for (?everything). They are also a factor of politics, and in this sense they reflect the tendencies existing in our society. We must speak from the point of view of what is in favor of the struggle for a more accurate policy and what is to be rejected and for a very strong front. [sentence as received] Dizdarevic asked the question whether bans and witchhunts on the press are characteristic of the present time.

I think, he said, that more characteristic is the attack on one, two or even more of our achievements by a number of media and the people in them. This is the proof that self-management an social administration are not all that developed in them, and the same applies to the action of the League of Communists. This is not all that unconnected with certain social developments and social contradictions and even with certain political tendencies.

Advocating a balanced assessment of the press, Dizdarevic stressed that it should not look as if we unreservedly defend the press from attacks. Nor should there be any doubts whatsoever about defending the achievements of the revolution which are also under attack by a group of articles and (?publications) and by publishing activity which has created enormous dismay and confusion among our people. By the same token, because there are such manifestations in the press to which we must and do react to in political life and in concrete political action, we should not deny everything positive that we have attained in the democratization of our society, public statements and public information media. [sentence as received]

The press should be free and public. It should report everything which takes place in society.

But communists who work in the press will have to be more decisive and fight for everything positive happening in society being reported, also in the most difficult of situations, as was the case in Kosovo, Ali Sukrija stressed. Some editorial boards, including ours in Kosovo, do not always have a creative, mobilizing attitude toward that which is positive in society, toward that which is being created.

As an example of this assertion, Sukrija mentioned the latest demonstrations in Kosovo. The same evening, a meeting of the Provincial Committee Presidium was held, a communique issued and reports by editorial boards issued. Reports were made from various places. But, among the public, the working people and working class there is dissatisfaction. It is impermissible that one editorial board reports that demonstrations have taken place in Pec, where there was not a single slogan heard and where no demonstrations took place on that day. And there is no point in saying that this is false, that this should not be done, not in any society and certainly not in our society. This is pouring oil on the fire, Sukrija said.

Or, another case. One paper reports that there have been 50 schoolchildren demonstrators, and then on the same page that there have been 100 demonstrators. In Podujevo, activists had a fight with a group of trouble-makers, demonstrators. But nobody reported that. Nobody writes about children refusing to join demonstrations. All this means that we have to provide speedy but objective information, Sukrija said. I am saying this, he stressed, because it is necessary, despite all negative matters in our society, to find a grain of truth and reality in this struggle waged by the working people, the nations and nationalities, because it is necessary to encourage all progressive forces. If we can criticize the party and criticize other social forces which can make mistakes of omissions, why then should we make a holy object out of editorial boards?

In calming down the debate on this point of the agenda, Dobroslav Culafic stressed that there had been no disagreements or reservations regarding the basic assessments and attitudes contained in the report. The Central Committee could accept the draft report on the work of the LCY Central Committee and the basic characteristics of LCY activity between the 11th and the 12th congresses.

Nevertheless, a considerable number of suggestions and proposals were made today to complement some of the assessments, to make some of them clearer. Suggestions which deserve particular attention, Culafic said, are the ones which say that the text, wherever possible -- and it is obvious that this is possible -- should be abridged and freed from repetitions and generalizations which do not contribute much to the [word indistinct] of the report on the work of the Central Committee between the two congresses. The report commission should examine all the suggestions and proposals and decide on them, bearing in mind that what is at stake is the LCY report.

The Central Committee charged the commission to monitor the debate in the League of Communists and in the public and, in a relevant manner, to report all the suggestions and proposals which will be made to the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which has the function of the congress preparation committee. Thus it will prepare the proposed report which will, we hope, be adopted by the Central Committee at the end of April.

The Central Committee, Culafic said, should charge all its members to attend, in the greatest number possible, the gatherings and meetings of communists at which the report will be discussed and at which all the assessments and attitudes which it contains will be debated. The Central Committee should charge its members to make, as frequently as possible, public statements to communists and working people, and to participate in the debates on the assessments of the period between the two congresses, with emphasis on the experiences which we should draw from that period.

It is particularly significant that the commission discuss that part which deals with public information, in view of the fact that today, too, there were various views of the assessments contained in the report.

Members of the LCY Central Committee also discussed today the draft changes and supplements to the LCY Statute. In explaining the draft, Dimitar Aleksievski, president of the Commission for Statutory Questions, stressed that the debate so far had already confirmed that there is no need for substantial changes to this party document. Only necessary changes and supplements of provisions, depending on the practice and further development of the League of Communists and of our socialist self-managing society have to be carried out.

Dimitar Akesievski went on to speak in detail about the proposed changes and supplements, particularly about collective work and responsibility. He said that individual provisions direct and charge the organs and forums with having to adhere to these principles in their work. In this connection there have been various views regarding the statutory regulation of the 1-year mandate. The commission adopted the attitude that the mandate of the presidents and secretaries of the LCY organs and of the executive secretaries of the LCY Central Committee Presidium be established by the LCY Statute; for the same functions in League of Communists organs of the republics and provinces, in organs of LCY organizations in the Yugoslav People's Army and in organs of municipal organizations, the duration of the mandates be established by their statutes, statutory decisions or other relevant documents.

The proposed changes, Aleksievski went on, elaborate more fully the democratic procedure in formulating the League of Communists policy and in adopting decisions and attitudes. They also elaborate the obligations of the ideopolitical and action unity and responsibility for their implementation.

Speaking about the method of electing politico-executive organs in the League of Communists, Aleksievski stressed that with the draft the obligation had been defined that the organ electing them should decide initially whether it would do so by public or secret vote. The question of more candidates than the number to be elected is not of such a nature that it should be regulated by the LCY Statute; every organ should decide on this with reference to the specific situation and needs.

The new thing is that in a municipality, instead of the municipal conference as the highest organ, a conference as a forum which will meet every 4 years and which will elect the municipal committee as the highest League of Communists organ in the municipality is being formed. Such a solution, he said, removes the illogic whereby the present municipal conference acts in the double role as a forum and, when it accepts its own report and elects relevant organs, becomes the top League of Communists organ in the municipality.

Danilo Kepic spoke in the debate on the changes and supplements to the LCY Statute about democratic centralism and about the duration of the mandate of presidents and secretaries in organs and organizations of the LCY.

The draft of the changes to the LCY Statute has basically laid down democratic centralism as the fundamental principle of organizing internal life and relations in the LCY, Kekic stressed. For the implementation of the avant garde role of the LCY in our self-managing socialist system, it is of exceptional significance in practice that democratic relations in it are built, developed, and nurtured, that the initiative and creativity of all League of Communists members, organizations, organs and their members be encouraged and developed. We cannot be satisfied regarding the activity and creativity of LCY members. Neither can we be satisfied with the collective work and responsibility of individual organizations and organs. This is one of the fundamental reasons for the slowing down and lagging behind in the development of self-management of the working people. The absence of the membership and organizations in preparing the solution is obvious.

A fundamental aspect of our democratic centralism should be democratic preparation and adoption of decisions and attitudes as well as the conscious, creative, self-disciplined obligation to implement them.

Under no circumstances should we allow phenomena of bureaucratic centralism or anarchistic liberalism in the LCY organization. This would be fatal for our organization, for our unity, for our revolution. The unity of the LCY, based on democratic centralism of our colors, must remain the fundamental provision of our statute and the imperative of the contents and methods of activity of the LCY.

Quoting Comrade Tito's words, Kekic stressed that the application of the 1-year mandate should play a positive role in implementing and promoting collective work, responsibility, democratization of work, efficiency of work, and prevention of pretensions to leadership and other negative phenomena and unhealthy ambitions. Kekic proposed that the principle of the application of a 1-year mandate, from the commune to the federation, should be incorporated in the LCY Statute.

Nijaz Dizdarevic proposed that within the framework of the discussions on the changes in the statute, the proposal should also stress that the Central Committee should elect the president from the ranks of the Presidium, and that he would at the same time be the president of the Central Committee and chair the Presidium. This would be, in his words, one alternative within the framework of all the deliberations on emphasizing the role of the Central Committee in LCY relations.

Closing this point of the agenda, Stane Dolanc said that, since the proposed draft should go to public debate, both alternatives should be entered in the draft.

At the end of the session, the LCY Central Committee adopted the following decision on determining the number of members of the LCY Central Committee, the Commission for Statutory Questions and of the Supervisory Commission:

1. The congresses of the League of Communists of the socialist republics, the provincial conferences of the League of Communists of socialist autonomous provinces, and the conference of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army will elect a total of 157 members of the LCY Central Committee, 15 members of the Commission for Statutory Questions of the LCY and 6 members of the LCY Supervisory Commission.

2. The congress of the League of Communists of every republic will elect 19 members of the LCY Central Committee, 2 members of the LCY Commission for Statutory Questions and 1 member of the LCY Supervisory Commission; the provincial conference of the League of Communists of every autonomous province will elect 14 members of the LCY Central Committee and 1 member for the LCY Commission for Statutory Questions; and the conference of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, 15 members of the LCY Central Committee, including the president of the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army and 1 member to the LCY Commission for Statutory Questions.

3. Presidents of the Central Committees of the League of Communists of socialist republics, presidents of provincial committees of the League of Communists of socialist autonomous provinces are, on the basis of Article 81 of the LCY Statute, by their function members of the LCY Central Committee.

Presidents of the commissions for statutory questions of the League of Communists of socialist republics, of the League of Communists of socialist autonomous provinces and of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army are, on the basis of Article 38 of the LCY Statute, by their function members of the LCY Commission for Statutory Questions.

Presidents of the supervisory commissions of the League of Communists of socialist republics, of the League of Communists of the socialist autonomous provinces and of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army are on the basis of Article 93 of the LCY Statute by their function members of the LCY supervisory commission.

Thus, the LCY Central Committee will have a total of 165, the LCY commission for the statutory questions, 24 and the LCY Supervisory Commission, 15 members.

The 12th LCY Congress will carry out the verification of the election of members of the LCY Central Committee, of the LCY Commission of Statutory Questions and of the LCY supervisory commission.

4. This decision comes into force on the day of its adoption.

Draft Report Adopted

LD161600 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG) -- At its session today the LCY Central Committee adopted the draft report on the work of the LCY Central Committee and on the basic characteristics of the LCY activity between the 11th and the 12th LCY Congresses.

In the debate there was no disagreement with the basic assessments and orientations presented in the draft, though there were a considerable number of suggestions for improving the text, above all for shortening it.

The Central Committee today obliged the members of the Central Committee commission for working out the draft of the report to follow continuously the course of the public discussion and to report regularly on everything to the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which also has at the same time the function of the committee for the preparation of the congress. It was also decided that the Presidium should determine as early as possible the method and the time in which the public debate should be conducted and other aspects.

SUNDIC URGES STUDY OF BREZHNEV MISSILE DECISION

LD172126 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Foreign political commentary entitled "Can the Soviet Union's Decision to Freeze its Missile Potential in Europe Lead to the Unfreezing of International Relations?" by Milika Sundic]

[Text] The decision of the Soviet Union to freeze its existing missile potential and its readiness to reduce the number of medium-range missiles this year unless there is a fresh exacerbation of the international situation has been received with varied reaction in the world press and diplomatic circles. Let us recall that this decision was announced by Leonid Brezhnev at the congress of Soviet trade unions.

The day the head of the Soviet state and party announced the initiative of the Soviet leadership, the U.S. and Soviet delegations agreed in Geneva to postpone their talks on Euromissiles until 20 May. This coincidence is most likely purely accidental. But even if it is not, the next 2 months will be welcomed by both superpowers as it will enable them to analyze the talks held so far on Euromissiles. It will also enable the West to study the latest Soviet initiative.

As could be expected, the Western countries and especially the United States have not given a favorable reception to the Soviet Union's decision to freeze its existing missile potential in Europe. Washington appraises it as a propaganda maneuver, calculated to influence the U.S. intention to deploy cruise and Pershing missiles in Western Europe and to increase West European resistance to U.S. intentions.

Nevertheless, regardless of the motives of the Soviet Union, it seems that it would be very bad if Moscow's decision to freeze its missile potential were written off in advance as a calculated maneuver. Nothing would be gained by doing so, all the more so it one bears in mind the fact that Leonid Brezhnev invited the United States to accept, with no delay, the Soviet request to start talks on strategic nuclear arms limitation. Brezhnev also made a series of other suggestions which testify to the Soviet readiness for an improvement in the present unfavorable climate in Soviet-U.S. relations.

True enough, the Soviet leader did not speak at all sparingly when criticizing U.S. foreign policy, including U.S. behavior at the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, but everything he said on the occasion can be interpreted as reciprocating U.S. criticism of the Soviet Union. This shows how necessary it is to make an effort to start these talks, not to mention anything else.

The Soviet initiative could serve as the beginning of a different kind of behavior, that is to say the freezing of the missile potential in Europe could be an introduction to the unfreezing of the existing international tension. Of particular importance is the way the countries of Western Europe will react to the Soviet proposal. This applies above all to the FRG, which is most adversely affected by the burden of the Soviet-U.S. confrontation. Naturally, hardly any West European country will accept the Soviet decision to freeze missiles without any further discussion. Not even Moscow is likely to expect this to happen. However, it would suffice if the United States' European allies succeed in persuading the Reagan administration to study the Soviet initiative carefully regardless of the U.S. assertion that the Soviet missile potential in Europe is so great that the decision to freeze it represents no concession to the West.

KOSOVO ACTIVITY CONTINUES AFTER DISORDERS

Prizren Veterans Meeting

AU171736 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Mar 82 p 3

[J. M. report]

[Text] Prizren, 15 Mar -- The Prizren veterans, at their election assembly, today once again confirmed that they were following Tito's road and that they were physically prepared to deal with the enemy who is trying to destroy all the achievements of our society.

Safet Avapi in his opening speech said that the veterans of the commune have been active in solving all the problems. They were particularly persistent in unmasking Albanian nationalism. In numerous discussions, the veterans did not hide their indignation over the latest disorders in Kosovo. Slavko Slavkovic said that formalism prevails in the struggle with the enemy, and the organs of the court and of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs did not act as they should have. Botim Demiri said that the latest events display our omissions in the past period.

Taking part in the discussion, Milan Krtolica, member of the Presidium of the Federation of Associations of National Liberation War Veterans of Kosovo, pointed out that one should talk about the enemy at all our meetings. Opportunism will not be purified through verbosity. We must sharply oppose the enemy who in place of self-management offers darkness, slavery and fascist-Ballist ideology.

Mahmut Kemali said that all the measures to prevent further outbursts of nationalism have not been taken. We are too lenient with the enemy. Thus, for instance, the director of Radio Pristina had been relieved of his post because of political unsuitability, but immediately afterwards he was appointed development director of the institution.

Arif Korapi, bearer of the 1941 Partisan Memorial Medal, was elected new president of the Presidium of the Federation of Associations of National Liberation War Veterans of Prizren.

Communal Leaders Meeting

AU171731 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Mar 82 p 3

[R. B. report]

[Text] Pristina, 15 Mar -- A conference of presidents of the communal conferences of the League of Communists of Kosovo was held last night in the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo under the chairmanship of Veli Deva.

The conference discussed and agreed upon how to organize activities in the communal organizations of the League of Communists in implementing the tasks arising from the report of the latest session of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo in connection with the hostile actions on 11 March in some communes of the province.

Details of Suva Reka Actions

LD171714 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1613 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Summary] Suva Reka, 17 Mar (TANJUG) -- Six teachers from the Jeta E Re school center have been suspended from work following the participation of about 100 pupils from the school in hostile demonstrations on 11 March. Four more teachers were given a final warning and two others an ordinary warning. The six suspended, who are all younger than 30, were penalized for passivity in the face of hostile outbursts. The measures were adopted on the basis of a program of ideopolitical measures from the Suva Reka League of Communists Municipal Committee. When talks have been completed between parents, teachers and pupils, suitable measures will be adopted in relation to pupils who boycotted school and took part in the 11 March demonstrations. One pupil has already been suspended for participation in the disturbances, but he has already stated that he regrets his mistake. Party cards have been removed from 15 people in the school, and 13 League of Communists members have been penalized by party measures. This school center has been administered by the authorities for some time, and last year seven teachers were suspended from their posts. Teaching will resume on Monday, 22 March, having been suspended since the latest incidents.

Tirana Propaganda Denounced

AU172040 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Unattributed Pristina Radio-TV commentary]

[Summary from poor reception] Although doing so by different means, Albania's propaganda is striving in the most open way to strengthen its support for the Albanian irredentists and nationalists, trying by all means to incite new disturbances in Kosovo, continuing to pour out poison to indoctrinate the Albanian youth of our province. There is in fact nothing new in all this because we are by now used to this tone. Tirana's efforts to destabilize Yugoslavia and change of the constitutional order of the Yugoslav federation are part of Tirana's propaganda arsenal. The only thing that has changed is the style of presentation by expert operators choosing fragments from the world press. It seeks to create the impression that world opinion, too, is concerned about the fate of the Albanians in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, that it is not only Albania that concerns itself daily with Kosovo, but that this question is also a concern of international opinion.

But let us present some facts for the sake of truth. First of all this increase in the volume of Tirana's propaganda does not worry the Albanian population in Yugoslavia because we all determine our own destinies ourselves. However, it is worth pointing out that the papers cited by Tirana rank among the most reactionary ones in the world. Thus Tirana is joining the reactionary dance of the darkest and most anticommunist forces, which are not only against progress and the well-being of humanity, but are in first place in the service of disturbances and the creation of centers of crisis not only in the Balkans, but also generally in the world. These are precisely the sources used by Tirana to disseminate slanders in connection with the disturbances on 11 March.

No one in our province is ignorant of the fact that these disturbances were defeated by the people themselves and by the activists, that there were no clashes and bloodshed, as Tirana is trying to impress in order to generate hatred among the nationalists. This propaganda maneuver by the leadership of Albania surprises no one. These inventions surprise no one because they come from a regime holding 30,000 political prisoners. All these attempts will certainly not shake the people of Kosovo in their daily struggle to achieve stabilization and to smash all hostile forces, the Albanian nationalists and irredentists, and all other enemies of all hues who tried to cause disturbances in Kosovo and destabilize Yugoslavia.

Election Appeal Issued

AU180854 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] On the occasion of the delegate elections on 18, 19 and 21 March, the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the SAWP of Kosovo today addressed an appeal to the workers class, the working people and citizens which, among other things, points out that the elections for delegation members and delegates during a wide (?action) for political and economic stabilization are another significant political task, obligation and responsibility and a duty of all who elect and are elected to (?delegations).

The League of Communists and other progressive forces from the ranks of the workers class, the working people and citizens of all our peoples and nationalities are waging a resolute struggle against the hostile and counterrevolutionary (?activities) from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, and against all other forms of hostile activities from antiself-managing and antisocialist positions, whose aim is to destroy the achievements of our revolution and to turn away from the road of our development. All the progressive forces are resolute in their efforts to protect socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity, equality and togetherness of all our peoples and nationalities, territorial integrity of our country and the road along which Comrade Tito led us, and to defend it from all the attacks from whichever side they may come. The appeal further says, and stresses:

The further general progress and the process of further overall sociopolitical and economic stabilization of the situation in our province will depend in many respects on the active involvement of the workers class, the working people and citizens, so that those will be elected to delegations and as delegates to the assemblies who are active and uncompromising fighters for the interests of the workers class, the development of self-management and direct democracy. A massive turnout in elections and voting for members of delegations and delegates is in fact a vote for socialist self-management, democracy, socioeconomic and political stabilization, brotherhood, unity, equality and togetherness, and for prospects and further stable development of our community along Tito's road, it is stressed in the conclusion of the appeal issued by the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the SAWP of Kosovo.

DZUNOV, VLASI ADDRESS SAWPY PRESIDIUM ON KOSOVO

LD172342 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1414 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 17 Mar (TANJUG) -- The SAWPY platform presupposes the struggle against counterrevolution, as well as, at the same time, the struggle against opportunism, inconsistency, insufficient organization and other shortcomings which hinder our action. In this respect the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance, the Trade Union Federation, the Federation of Socialist Youth and the Veterans Federation must achieve full unity of action. This was stressed by Risto Dzunov, member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, in his introductory speech at today's session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium. Today's discussion was focused on the tasks of the Socialist Alliance in carrying out the political platform for action aimed at promoting socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and togetherness in Kosovo.

Speaking about the deviations which led to attempted counterrevolution in Kosovo, Risto Dzunov recalled that socialist self-management had been blocked by the newly-grown etatist-bureaucratic trends and by pressures exercised by influential individuals and groups who had also adopted a non-self-managing attitude toward the development of relations between the province and the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Dzunov said that they had striven for the fullest possible parity and division between the province and the republic, treating them not as self-managing sociopolitical communities but from the point of view of pronounced etatist tendencies.

The road from there to the irredentist-nationalist slogan of "Kosovo-Republic," was not long, Dzunov said. It is particularly important not only for Kosovo but also for relations in our entire multinational community, Dzunov stressed, that we should struggle ceaselessly for the practical implementation of the policy of the more rapid development of the insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. These are exceptionally sensitive issues and we must not allow our adversaries and enemies to become active in this connection even for a moment.

In this connection, Dzunov stressed, it would be unrealistic and impossible for an environment to pull itself out of backwardness without mobilizing its own potentials. The absence of this kind of orientation over a considerable period of time, Dzunov stressed, helped create an atmosphere marked by the excessively pronounced belief that the difficult problems inherited from the past can only be resolved with the help of others. It was shown in Kosovo, Dzunov added, that the counterrevolutionary and irredentist elements scored most of their demagogic points in Kosovo by backing the thesis that Kosovo is being exploited and is being given too little. This was actually given support in the official policy of the former provincial leadership.

The activity of the Socialist Alliance, Risto Dzunov stressed, should be concerned more with the life of the young generation. Just as there is need for the greater participation of the young in the creation and realization of the programs of the other sociopolitical organizations, so it is also indispensable that the subjective forces and above all the trade unions display a more responsible attitude toward the young and the youth organizations with regard to employment, enrollment at university departments, distribution of housing and the standard of living of students and those attending school.

Dzunov said that the present situation in Kosovo had shown in stark relief the consequences of promoting the kind of education which is not grounded in the needs of associated labor and society.

The entire sociopolitical action aimed at carrying out the tasks and appraisals given in the platform, Azem Vlasi stated during the discussion, is taking place in difficult conditions. The effects of the political action are quite visible and I would say that to a considerable degree we have succeeded in enabling working people and citizens and members of all the nations and nationalities to comprehend the counterrevolutionary essence, character and aims of the forces which went into action at last year's demonstrations and whose activity during these demonstrations has created the present state of affairs.

However, Vlasi added, we still have problems, especially as regards the further carrying out of the process of ideopolitical differentiation. It is a fact that the enemy continues to be active in various ways and resorts to a variety of methods. What happened 11 March shows that in a considerable number of individual environments and also taken as a whole we have not carried the political action through to its conclusion and that we have failed to achieve satisfactory results in the process of ideopolitical differentiation. What happened 11 March, Vlasi said, shows in effect that underground enemy activity has not been beheaded, has not been completely defeated, because what was shown on that occasion was that we face a perfect organization which resorts to these tactics and these methods of work to avoid a direct conflict with the forces of public order and to avoid a direct conflict with our forces as a whole.

Azem Vlasi went on to speak about the forces which are now striving to pursue the political action in Kosovo, stressing that they had not yet grown numerous and strong enough. There are also forces, Vlasi said, and these are particularly prominent in certain environments, such as educational establishments and some other places, who still think that that it is enough to mount a few actions of an organizational-preventive nature to calm things down.

According to him, these forces only wish to calm things down and not to make any fundamental changes. Assessing these forces as not insignificant, Vlasi added that they represent a kind of ballast as far as political action in Kosovo is concerned. In this connection he stressed that the pacification of the state of affairs and guarding against various excesses and insolent provocative attacks by enemy groups do not represent the ultimate goal but that many things and relations have to be changed in practice.

Azem Vlasi then spoke about the further directions of the action in Kosovo, proceeding from the fact that the enemy has not been defeated and beheaded yet. He said that political action remains the first and basic means of struggle and is followed by the struggle against opportunism and duplicity. No one has failed in any party organization, Vlasi said, to express support for our appraisal of the enemy activity but this is verbal support which has not been accompanied by readiness and resolve to pursue concrete action in every environment with the aim of exposing the character and goals of the enemy activities.

Vlasi went on to say that the ideopolitical differentiation must be pursued more energetically and in a more concrete manner throughout Kosovo, primarily in the League of Communists and especially in the area of education. According to Vlasi additional tasks also include the struggle against any further shortcomings in all areas of social life and in every envirounment and the struggle for the further consolidation of self-managing socialist relations. According to Vlasi this is necessary becasue such shortcomings in everyday life such as championing group or personal interests, favoritism, negligence and misuse are conducive to the existence of the kind of atmosphere which the enemy could further exploit for his activities.

Ideopolitical work aimed at exposing and explaining the hostile and nationalist theses and slogans by means of detailed arguments, and above all ideopolitical work with the young, continues to be a task to which special attention should be paid. We must not accept as fact, Vlasi said, that all those who have been indoctrinated with the nationalist ideology are lost to us.

Finally Azem Vlasi pointed to the very complex economic situation in Kosovo which hinders the political situation too. He also spoke about the need to continue to strengthen intranational relations and to restore people's confidence and security.

Zoran Polic expressed the deep concern of the Slovene Socialist Alliance over the events in Kosovo. He expressed his conviction that political forces in the province would find enough strength to solve the situation in a more long-term process. Speaking about the realization of the tasks from the Kosovo platform, Polic noted that the basic problem is the situation among young people. He then emphasized that the slowness in reaching agreement on working out joint (?textbooks) is inadmissible, for, according to him, basic indoctrination is carried out precisely through them. Unless we solve problems here and provide the young people with something new, I fear, Polic said, that this business will last for several years.

Polic also noted that until now there has been a lack of analyses about joint investments in Kosovo. Why should we not tell those young people, Polic emphasized, where Kosovo will be without the togetherness, and what the income per person would be, what kind of situation they would be in and where they are now as a result of those joint resources of all the nations and nationalities of our country. Without such an analysis and without specifically going into an interpretation of these relations, it will be very difficult for us to convince those young people about what brotherhood and unity between the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia mean. Regarding information about the situation in Kosovo, in Polic's view there is quite a lot, but still not enough.

Miran Potrc emphasized that investments in Kosovo last year fell by 40 percent in real terms compared to the previous year: this is certainly a serious problem for our obligation toward the continued acceleration of the pooling of labor and resources. If such trends continue, we will reach new politically open questions.

Potrc also pointed to the losses in the Kosovo economy, and in particular to the problem of unemployment in this province.

Aleksandar Bakocevic emphasized the need to devote the greatest attention to the policy of Kosovo's economic development, and then to the reform of the system of schooling and education in general, but in particular in Kosovo. Bakocevic then spoke about the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo as an undoubtedly serious, complex and dramatic problem which needs to be solved urgently.

Nanad Bucin expressed dissatisfaction at the fact that the press was prevented from carrying out their work on 11 March in Pristina and from informing the public about everything that happened on that day. He did not agree with the explanation heard at this session that the security organs did not distinguish between a television crew and other citizens. Bucin then emphasized that even a year after the Kosovo events we do not have a clear and specific political assessment about some individual details. It is astonishing, Bucin said, that the analysis of textbooks has lasted so long. We have spent a year wondering whether these Albanian textbooks are good. He also did not agree with the assessment, again heard at the session, that worst of all now there are no textbooks there. I think, Nanad Bucin added, that the worst thing is that we ever had those textbooks which were eventually withdrawn.

Concluding this several-hour discussion Marian Cetinic emphasized that the realization of the political platform will also be discussed at future sessions of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, as well as in other forms of activity by the Socialist Alliance. We must constantly return to the platform and analyze what we have done and how we have done it.

Ljuco, Potrc Comments

AU180919 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Unattributed report on discussion at SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium session in Belgrade on 17 March]

[Excerpt] Smajo Ljuco spoke about the tasks of the press, and stated that we may be satisfied with the reports. However, many people were perplexed by the Pristina reporter when he reported on television on 11 March in the evening that the demonstrations there had not been covered by camera for technical reasons. What are these technical reasons? This remained unclear to many.

Ljuco also pointed out that there were many passive observers during the latest hostile activities in Kosovo.

Following this statement of Ljuco, Azem Vlasi again took the floor and said: It is not the case that somebody from political circles prevented television from filming the scenes. The little groups were appearing in various places, and public order forces blocked off some streets and therefore it was not possible to film. The security forces did not know who the television representative was. In fact, Pristina Television took some film, but it could not be used since it was impossible to see that it dealt with disorders. Anyhow, Vlasi pointed out, our activists, for instance in Podujevo and some other places, even attempted to fight these groups of rioters.

Miran Potrc said that the difficult economic situation in Kosovo burdens the political situation, because a considerable number of organizations are incurring losses. Over 30,000 workers work in collectives which have incurred losses. In addition, the association of labor and the pooling of resources with other organizations in the country is proceeding slowly. For instance, only 12 programs have been definitively settled.

Let us say one other thing: it is exactly 4 months today since the platform on Kosovo was adopted. In these 4 months, as confirmed by the discussion today, everything continues to boil down to discussions of what should be done and who should do it.